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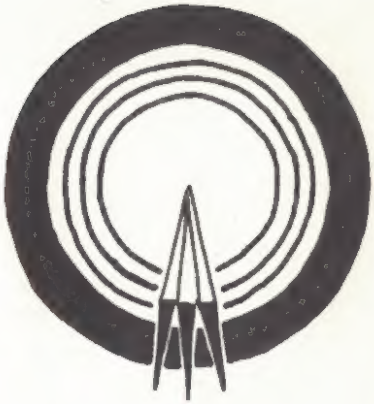

THE RED BUFFALO

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THE RED BUFFALO is a Journal of American Studies devoted to radical critiques of contemporary American society and culture. It is published by a group in the Program of American Studies at the State University of New York at Buffalo.

THE RED BUFFALO is conceived as a vital complement to social practice; we hope that those who are coming to know America through the process of changing it, and themselves, find in the journal a locus for the development and strengthening of radical theory and intellectual and artistic exchange. Each issue will be thematically organized to serve the most effective educational purposes.

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The subject of this, our first issue, is American Indians. The problems of putting together a first issue are evident; we had to rely, for the most part, on the resources of our own program in American Studies. This reliance accounts for both the strengths and the weaknesses of this issue. We were fortunate to have a dynamic and committed division of Indian Studies within our program. We hope to correct the weaknesses that derive from the forced intellectual "inbreeding" of our contributions as the reality of the journal convinces others to join our effort. The opinion of the editors can be found in two articles "Indians/Students" by Brover and the reply by the rest of the staff in "Indian Movement and Socialist Revolution."

We welcome continuing discussion of the American Indian as well as manuscripts and ideas for future issues. Anyone willing to help us distribute **THE RED BUFFALO** at libraries and bookstores, please write us.

—The Editors

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Article	*Page*
The Pequot War Retold *Jefferson Davis*	1
Indians and Americans *John Mohawk*	14
John Mason Gets Sassacus' Head (a poem) *Jefferson Davis*	21
An Interview with Rarihokwats	23
Three Photographs *Milton Rogovin*	34
Indian Wars and Vietnam *John Trimbur*	37
Palo Alto: The Marshes (a poem) *Robert Haas*	45
Our Keepers' Brother—The Debate Continues *John Mohawk*	49
Indians/Students: Utopian and Scientific *Charles Brover*	60
The Indian Movement and Socialist Revolution *Hal Hamilton, John Trimbur and Jefferson Davis*	77
Three Photographs *Eric Almquist*	90
Missionaries and Progress *John Mohawk*	93
"Indian" Movies (a review) *Kyle Steenland and John Trimbur*	99
Black Elk Speaks (a review) *Ray Neinstein*	104
Warriors of the Rainbow (a review) *Hal Hamilton*	106
Annotated, Selected Bibliography *Jefferson Davis and John Trimbur*	110

THE PEQUOT WAR RETOLD

Jefferson Davis

Had there been any doubt, My Lai revealed the genocidal nature of the American war in Vietnam. Editorial writers doubted publicly, again, the morality of the war. On millions of television screens, Walter Cronkite's face sagged as he relayed the heavy news. Since then, scores of similar atrocities have been revealed. Indeed, Vietnam is a "dirty" war. It is not the first of America's dirty wars, nor its first experiment with a whole people—300,000 people died in the Phillipines last century, that war had many My Lais. The first, though, is further back. The war that gave birth to the first My Lai began in 1637, just seventeen short years after the Pilgrim Fathers celebrated their first "Thanksgiving"; that war lasted, almost without interruption, until 1891—254 years. That long war was called the "Pequot War", "King Philip's War", "The Pontiac Conspiracy", "Pope's Rebellion", it had (and has) many pseudonyms. That war was the war against the "Indians" (red men now remind us that even that name is another white man's fiction), the native Americans who once inhabited all North America, who lived, and still live, where we do. That war was America's first, so far its longest, and certainly, in retrospect, it offers many revelations of the peculiar character of American war, and American imperialism. That war began within the box of map lines we call Connecticut.

It began for the few hundred "English" of Connecticut in 1634, when Captain John Stone and Walter Norton and crew were killed by Pequot of the Connecticut River valley. Stone had been banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony under penalty of death for assault, adultery, slander, and drunkeness. He died because he kidnapped several "Indians" and forced them to pilot his boat up the Connecticut River. He was supposed to be on his way to Virginia, but he just thought he'd check out this river to see if it led to some sudden riches. Kidnapping Indians was a practice almost amounting to custom. Indians of various peoples were kidnapped and taken to England, or used as guides, or sold into slavery by Englishmen as early as 1605.[1]

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1. Alden T. Vaughan—*New England Frontier* (Boston, 1965) p. 9 ff.

On this occasion, these Pequots expressed their distaste for the incipient custom by allowing Stone and his friends to get drunk (as some accounts have it) and then, with the help of several Indians who had seen them held as captives, dispatching them to the next world.[1]

The Americans notwithstanding their own sanctions against Stone, felt compelled to revenge his "murder". The Pequots, intermittently at war with the Dutch and the Narragansetts, a tribe to the east, sent ambassadors to Massachusetts Bay to arrange a peace. A treaty was signed November 1, 1634, which incredibly obligated the Pequots to surrender the two "murders" of Stone who had not died of smallpox, yield Connecticut, and pay an indemnity for ten years. The Americans were to send a boat to trade with the Pequots. The Pequots paid a portion of the indemnity. The whites began to establish settlements along the Connecticut River almost immediately, and the Pequots helped keep them alive through the difficult winter.[2]

In the Spring of 1636 one John Oldham, who sailed a pinnace along the coast to trade with the Indians, visited the Pequots and stopped on his return at Block Island. For whatever reason, he was killed, and his boat sacked, by the people who lived there. He may have been killed by the Narragansett people for trading with the Pequots.

However that might be, the government of Massachusetts had heard rumors that Oldham's murderers had taken refuge *with* the Pequots, so they authorized a punitive expedition against both the Block Island people and the Pequots. The white commander, John Endicott, was instructed, in return for the death of this one John Oldham, to kill every man on Block Island, take the women and children prisoner, and further to proceed to the Pequots to demand Stone's "murderers" again, and a thousand fathoms of wampum, and to take some Pequot children as hostages.

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1. John W. DeForest—*History of the Indians of Connecticut* (Hamden, Connecticut, 1964) pp. 77-81. There are many relations of the incident as we shall see. This one is the Pequot messenger's account to Gevernor Dudley in 1634. Many rumors about the event, some of them informed chiefly by fantasy, have been remembered by historians.
2. Ibid., pp. 81-83.

He was to accomplish this by force, if the Pequots did not assent.[1]

Endicott carried out his commission with great zeal. Though the people of Block Island saw him when he attempted to land, and fled, he managed to find trails to two of their villages. He and his men spent two days burning down their wigwams, staving in canoes, killing dogs, destroying two hundred acres of corn, and searching for the Indians to kill them. On the second day they encountered a few men in a swamp, and killed one of them.[2] The rest of them escaped and managed to stay hidden. Endicott and his men left the next day to continue their commission against the Pequots.

They stayed the night at Saybrook, a small fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River. There Lieutenant Gardiner, who was in command, argued against the expedition and the manner in which it was being conducted. "You come hither," he said, "to raise these wasps about my ears, and then you will take wing and flee away."[3] Endicott argued him down, and Gardiner sent reinforcements with him to Pequot Harbor.

After four days they sailed into Pequot Harbor. The Pequots ran to the shore in numbers to ask the Americans "What do you come for?" The Americans did not answer. The Pequots ran beside the American fleet and asked "Are you angry...? Will you kill us? Do you come to fight?[4] "Doleful and woeful cries," as Underhill says.[5] The Americans did not answer, but sailed to the middle of the river and anchored for the night.

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1. Ibid., pp. 87-91. Even several American officers thought this commission extreme (V. Underhill's "History of the Pequot War," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Boston 1937), 3rd Series, Vol. VI; in terms of traditional Indian warfare, it was virtually unthinkable.
2. Ibid., p. 92. So the Narragansetts said. Underhill reported that 14 were killed. Perhaps the "body count" was inflated.
3. Vaughan, op. cit., p. 128.
4. DeForest, op. cit., p. 93.
5. Vaughan, op. cit., p. 128. Vaughan characterizes the encounter a little archly in saying that "whatever chance may have existed for peaceful negotiations vanished rapidly." Indeed.

Early the next morning a Pequot man rowed out to the boats in a canoe to ask the Americans why they were there. Endicott then said that they had come for the murders of Stone (*not* Oldham) whom the Pequots had refused to surrender; and he demanded a thousand fathoms of wampum, or twenty children of principal men as hostages if they could not pay the wampum then. The Pequot sopkesman told the Americans that his people had killed Stone to revenge the treacherous death of a Pequot sachem at the hands of the earlier white men who had come up the river and pretended to trade, just as Stone had done. They had waited until Stone and company had gotten drunk, and the son of the murdered Sachem had then attacked. During the fight someone had set off gunpowder and the ship had blown up. Endicott found the explanation insufficient, and demanded the murderers and the wampum or the hostages. The Pequot man left the boat to communicate with his own people.[1]

The Americans disembarked immediately after him and formed ranks on the bank. The same old man who had rowed out to speak with them met them and asked that they stay where they were, while the Pequots remained on the other side of the hill. The Americans "fearful of being attacked by stealth", marched to the top of the rising ground. The Pequot people gathered around them, unarmed.[2] Gardiner reported that some of the Pequots recognized his men from Saybrook and talked with them.[3] The old spokesman returned to say that Sassacus, their sachem, or chief spiritual and secular leader was on Long Island, and could not be there. The Americans threatened that unless some sachem appeared, they would commence hostilities. Sassacus was too far away to summon, so the Pequot women and children retreated from the village while

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1. DeForest, op. cit., pp. 95-97. DeForest thinks this story more true than the earlier explanation. Vaughan, of course, says only that "The Pequot spokesman obstinately refused to comply with Puritan demands." (p. 128).
2. Ibid, p. 97.
3. Gardiner, ..."His Relation of the Pequot Wars," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Third Series, vol. III (Cambridge, 1833), p. 141.

the men amused the Americans with various messages. They said a sachem named Mommenoteck would appear shortly. After a few hours, when the Americans were growing more impatient, they reported that the tribe had assembled to discover the "murderers" of Stone.[1] The day passed. Endicott, of course, became convinced that the purpose of the delay was to set an ambush; when the Pequots suggested that both sides lay down their arms, he flipped out and ordered his men to beat their drums and open fire. The Pequot men scattered as the Americans shot their first volley. Only one man was certainly killed, shot and scalped by a Massachusetts Indian whom Endicott had brought with him, though several fell. The Americans, left alone on the bank, "displayed their colours, and beat their drums, burnt some wigwams, and some heaps of corn,"[2] and then staved in some canoes and retreated to their boats. The next day they destroyed the country on the opposite bank of the river, but saw no Pequots. Endicott's men left; Gardiner's men landed again to steal more corn, but were attacked intermittently until they retreated to their boats, without any corn, near nightfall.[3]

After the assault, the Pequots send ambassadors to form an alliance with their old enemies, the Narragansetts, to drive the ruthless Americans back to their mother country. The Narragansetts, however, had grown to trust Roger Williams, a white missionary who lived among them; Williams finally persuaded them to form an alliance with the Americans instead. The Pequots, by themselves, then began a war of attrition against the Americans, attacking three of Gardiner's men who were gathering corn near Saybrook, capturing and torturing to death two of them. The next day they burned the corn store house, and captured one of five men gathering hay, and killed him by roasting him over a fire. In spite of Gardiner's warnings, a man named Joseph Tilly and a companion landed along the river three miles above Saybrook to shoot fowl; the Pequots captured them, killed Tilly's friend, and took Tilly to torture him. They cut off his hands and feet and stuck hot embers between his flesh and

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1. DeForest, op. cit., p. 98.
2. Gardiner, loc. cit.
3. DeForest, op. cit., 99-100.

his skin until he died, without a groan;[1] the Pequots admired and celebrated his courage. So Gardiner and his men at Saybrook passed the winter, under seige.

In March of 1637, Gardiner led some men out to burn the long grass and reeds which covered the neck of the point on which the fort was built. After they had burned off the neck, Pequots attacked, killed two, and wounded three, including Gardiner, who nevertheless made it back to the fort. In April, the Pequots attacked the town of Wethersfield on the Connecticut River, only a few miles from Hartford. The settlers there had bought land from an Indian named Sequin or Sowheag, whom they had promised might continue to live there. After a short while, however, they had driven him off; he had asked the Pequots for help. In their attack, the Pequots killed three women, six men, twenty cows, and took two other women back with them to their town.[2]

On May 11, the General Court of Connecticut met and voted to wage an offensive war against the Pequots. They appointed John Mason, trained in the Netherlands under Sir Thomas Fairfax, captain Mason was known for his courage, was "tall and large in form, of an energetic, and even stern, but not headlong disposition, and of a moral, of not a religious character."[3] Mason enlisted the help of Uncas, a Pequot who had quarreled with Sassacus, and had finally been driven from the tribe, and arranged for the assistance of the Narragansetts. On the 20th of May he set off from Hartford downriver to Saybrook.

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1. Ibid., p. 105-108. Warfare among the Indian peoples was largely ritual and ceremonial; when people were killed, special revenge was usually exacted. As Underhill disdainfully noted, "They might fight seven years and not kill seven men." (Underhill, op. cit., p. 26). Torture of captives was traditionally solemn ceremony, and enacted as such by both tormentors and victim. An Indian victim might boast of his courage and strength, chide his torturers, and sing a death song before dying, and, perhaps, being ritually eaten by his captors. Most white captives were not up to such performances; Tilly was apparently an exception of sorts. See Wallace, *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca,* (New York, 1970), pp. 102-107, for a good account of ritual torture among the Iroquois.
2. Ibid., pp. 109-114.
3. Ibid., p. 119.

While he was enroute, a Dutch ship stopped at Saybrook on its way to trade with the Pequots. The Americans forbade the Dutchmen's venture until they agreed to ransom back the two girls captured at Wethersfield, instead of trading. They first offered goods for the girls, which Sassacus refused; they then persuaded seven Pequot men on board their ship, and threatened to throw them in the ocean unless the girls were released to them. The girls were released, and the Durch returned them to Saybrook, where Mason, by this time, awaited their arrival.

On Friday, the 29th of May, Mason and his men set off east to the village of the Narragansetts, past Pequot Harbor and the tribe's fort. They persuaded the Narragansetts to give them conduct across their land to the territory of the Pequots. They were joined during their trek by several hundred Narragansett men—Mason himself, in his history of the war, says five hundred—whom Mason offered the opportunity of attacking their traditional enemies. After a two day march west, they entered Pequot territory and arrived at about "one Hour in the Night" at a place just two miles from the Pequot fort. The sentinels "heard the enemy singing at the Fort, who continued that strain until midnight." Mason says he learned that the Pequots had seen the boats sailing past and had "concluded we were afraid of them and durst not come near them".[1]

In the morning, Mason's Puritan squad commended themselves and their plan to their God, and marched to the quiet fort. Mason divided the troops to surround the fort, assigning Captain Underhill the rear approach and the remaining Narragansett and other Indians the periphery of the battle field. Mason, like other later inheritors of our self-alienated militarist tradition (e.g. Douglas MacArthur) was given to referring to himself in the third person, and so describes the attack thusly:

> Captain Mason leading up to that on the North East side; who approaching within one Rod, heard a dog bark and an *Indian* crying Dwanux! Dwanux! which is *Englishman!*

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1 John Mason—*Brief History of the Pequot War* (Ann Arbor, 1966), pp. 4-7.

Discovered, Mason ordered his men to fire a volley into the palisade, and then led the assault through the undefended main entrance. He entered a wigwam and killed several people in it, and then chased some others down the village's central corridor; at the end of the corridor, Mason says, he and some of Underhill's men killed seven of them. He then walked back to the main entrance, out of breath; meeting some of his men there, "the *Captain*...said, WE MUST BURN THEM;" he got a firebrand from the wigwam he had wasted before, and set fire to it.[1] Underhill set another fire with a train of gunpowder.[2] The Americans then withdrew from the village and waited for those who would try to avoid the flames. The fire "did swiftly over run the *Fort*, to the extream (sic) Amazement of the Enemy, and great rejoycing (sic) of ourselves. Some of them climbing to the Top of the Palizado; others of them running into the very Flames; many of them gathering to windward, lay pelting at us with their Arrows, and we repayed them with our small Shot: Others of the Stoutest issued forth, as we did guess, to the Number of Forty, who perished by the Sword."[3] Mason, like our Lt. Calley at My Lai, thought of all the villagers not as humans, as people, but as "the Enemy;" Cotton Mather, great Puritan divine and apologist for the Salem witch trials, wrote that the native peoples whom Mason killed "had been forlorn and wretched heathen ever since their first herding here," and guessed that "probably the devil decoyed these miserable salvages hither, in hopes that the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or disturb his *absolute empire* over them."[4] As minions of Satan, of course, they were dangerous to God and his Puritan elect, and so had to be "saved"—brought the "light" of Jesus by missionaries, like Roger Williams, who were always the vanguard of genocide—or annihilated for their own good, and so that "God's work" (theocratic capitalism) might prosper in "New

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1. Ibid., p. 8.
2. Underhill—op. cit., p. 25.
3. Mason—op. cit., p. 9.
4. Cotton Mather—*Magnolia Christi Americana* (New York, 1967), (New York, 1967), Vol. I p. 556.

England." Four hundred to seven hundred (no one made a body count) men, women and children, "the Enemy," were in the fort; after thirty minutes of fire, only five who escaped were not dead, killed by the fire, the Puritans, or the Indian mercenaries behind them. Their bodies were on the ground "so thick, in some places, that you could hardly pass along."[1] "Thus," as John Mason wrote, "did the LORD judge among the Heathen, filling the place with dead Bodies."[2]

Amid the slaughter, forty of the Narragansett and other native people allied to the Americans were also wounded by mistake because they "lacked distinctive markings;" they looked like the other "Indians." The Narragansetts should have remembered then the prophecy the Pequots had told them when they asked for the Narragansetts' help after Endicott's expedition; the Pequots had prophesied that if they were destroyed, the Narragansetts would be destroyed soon after them.[3] The first Narragansett blood was spilled while the Pequots' village burned to cinders.

While the Americans were boarding their boats, three hundred or more (as Mason conceived) Pequots from the other Pequot village came to the smoldering ruins of their brothers' village and "beholding what was done, stamped and tore their Hair from their Heads."[4] Cotton Mather, in his history of the works of Christ in America, rendered the moment with characteristic glee:

> When they came to see the ashes of their fort and the bodies of so many of their countrymen terribly *barbikew'd* where the English had been doing a good mornings work, they howled, they roared, they tore out their hair; and though they did not swear (for they know not how), they were the very

1. Underhill, op. cit., p. 25.
2. Mason, op. cit., pp. 9-10.
3. Vaughan, op. cit., p. 131.
4. Mason, op. cit., p. 11.

picture of so many devils in distress.[1]

The Pequots were so demoralized that they made only a perfunctory charge against the Puritan commandoes and then fell back, launching a few arrows as the Puritans made their retreat.[2]

After the massacre the Pequots resolved to split up and disperse themselved in several directions, some going to Manhattan and Long Island.[3] But the Puritans were now determined to continue their war until the whole tribe was annihilated. They coerced neighboring tribes with whom the Pequots might have sought to hide into killing the refugees or turning them over to themselves for punishment or enslavement. Lt. Gardiner, of Saybrook, recorded his subtle threats to exterminate the peoples who would not cooperate with the Puritan policy. The brother of a Long Island sachem came to Gardiner gave this account of their conversation:

> "I answered No, but only with such as had killed Englishmen. He asked me whether they that lived upon Long Island might come to trade with us. I said No, nor we with them, for if I should send my boat to trade for corn, and you have Pequots with you, and if my boats should come into some creek by reason of bad weather, they might kill my men, and I shall think that you of Long Island have done it, and so we may kill all you for the Pequots; but if you will kill all the Pequots that come to you, and send me their heads, then I will give to you as to Weakwash (Waquash), and you shall have trade with us."[1]

The Long Islanders sent Gardiner twelve heads, and he paid those that brought them their bounty. Others did as they did. The Narragansetts held captive over a hundred Pequots who had remained in their homeland. Women and children were

1. Mather, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 556.
2. Mason, op. cit., pp. 11-12.
3. Mason, op. cit., p. 14.
4. Gardiner, op. cit., p. 150.

given as slaves to their captors, thirty to the Narragansetts, three to the Massachusetts natives, and the rest to the Bay Colony. Twenty-two of the twenty-four men were executed; two sachems were spared on the condition that they lead the Americans to Sassacus.[1]

Sassacus and a large band of his decimated tribe fled west and south, pursued by Puritan troops. Slowed by the old, by women, by children, the Pequots were easy to follow; they were surrounded in a swamp near present New Haven before the middle of July. Women, children and old men were allowed to come out; eighty fighting men stayed in the swamp. Before dawn July 14 the Pequot men tried to break through the American line. Twenty or thirty did, but the rest were killed or retreated back into the swamp. In a sweep of the swamp that morning the Puritans slaughtered all the men who remained; they shot them with muskets loaded with ten or twelve balls from point blank range.[2] But Sassacus was not among them. The women, children, and old men who had come out were given as slaves to the whites' " Indian's mercenary allies, or sold into slavery in the West Indies.[3]

Sassacus did not remain free for long. In August his scalp arrived in Hartford as a gift from the Mohawks, of the Iroquois Confederacy. When Sassacus and forty men had sought refuge with them, they had killed them, cut off their heads and their hands, and taken their five hundred pounds of wampum. By the end of August, the hostilities of the "Pequot War" were all but finished; 1500 Pequots had been killed or sold into slavery in four months.[4]

The Treaty of Hartford, negotiated with the few living Pequot sachems in September of 1638, formally, ritually completed the extermination of the Pequots by making it illegal for the survivors to be Pequots—they should "no more be called Pequots but Narragansetts and Mohigans."[5] The Narragansetts and Mohigans agreed to pay tribute to the English for their captives, and agreement that soon caused them much sorrow. Much of the Pequots' old

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1. Vaughan, op. cit., p. 148.
2. Vaughan, op. cit., p. 149.
3. DeForest, op. cit., p. 153.
4. Vaughan, op. cit., p. 150.
5. Ibid., p. 341.

land was given to veterans of the war against them; the Pequot River was re-named the Thames, and near the site of the Pequot village burned by Mason, the town of New London was founded.[1]

The Narragansetts, the Wampanoags, and others were crushed by the Puritans into death and slavery in "King Philip's War" of 1675-76. Native religions were made illegal, most survivors were assigned houses in towns and were closely observed, their activities supervised.[2] Imprisoned in their special residences, they were almost forgotten when William T. Williams noted some of their conditions to the Massachusetts Historical Society. In his letters of 1832, accompanying the manuscript of Gardiner's history of the Pequot war, he reported:

> There is a remnant of the Pequots still existing. They live in the town of Groton, and amount to about forty souls, in all ... They have about eleven hundred acres of poor land reserved to them in Groton, on which they live.

Among the others whose situations he knew were the Narragansetts:

> The Indians formerly called Ninegrate's men, seem now to be called the Narragansetts, and live principally in Charlestown, Rhode Island. There are perhaps eighty or more; though I am not so well informed concerning them, as of the Pequots.[3]

In a generation they had been torn away from the natural geographies of their forest trails and unpaved villages and put in box houses in Puritan towns; so complete, so wasteful was the American victory. Since then the native peoples of New England have been reduced to small remnant

1. Ibid., p. 152.
2. Douglas Edward Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk* (New York, 1958), p. 245.
3. Gardiner, op. cit., p. 134.

groups or completely "assimilated" into the dominant white culture.

Though the Pequots may have been forgotten, displaced by other enemies, the war that was begun against them has been institutionalized and perfected as it has been perpetuated against one people after another. As the "Frontier" moved west, its process in relation to native peoples became ever more clearly defined as massacre and genocide, imprisonment on reservations, cultural suppression, "assimilation" and "termination." And this war was and is taught to the young. Noam Chomsky, in his essay about My Lai, "After Pinkville", tells of thumbing through his daughter's fourth-grade social science reader:

> The protagonist, Robert, is told the story of the extermination of the Pequot tribe by Captain John Mason:
>
> His little army attacked in the morning before it was light and took the Pequots by surprise. The soldiers broke down the stockade with their axes, rushed inside, and set fire to the wigwams. They killed nearly all the braves, squaws, and children, and burned their corn and other food. There were no Pequots left to make more trouble. When the other Indian tribes saw what good fighters the white men were, they kept the peace for many years.

"I wish I were a man and had been there," thought Robert. "Nowhere", Chomsky notes, "does Robert express, or hear, second thoughts about the matter."[1] May the murders of My Lai not be so enshrined, or used for such lessons. We must change our understanding of our past if we would make our future free of the dynamics of repression and exploitation which produced the Pequot War, and My Lai, free for our sakes, and for the sake of all America's potential victims, of further genocide.

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1 Noam Chomsky, "After Pinkville." *New York Review of Books*, Vol. XIII, No. 12, (Jan. 1, 1970) p. 10. The essay is also included in his book, *At War With Asia* (New York, 1970).

INDIANS AND AMERICANS

John Mohawk

In 1492 an Italian seacaptain sailing a Spanish ship landed on a Caribbean Island approximately one continent and one ocean short of his destination. Finding the area was already occupied, (though this never seems to affect the claim that Columbus "discovered" it,) he proceeded to describe the inhabitants as "Indians." Strangely, through nearly five hundred years, that mistake has never been rectified. The original inhabitants of North America are still referred to as "Indians," though the prefix "American," (derived from the name of a second Italian,) was added to offer a distinction among types of "Indians." Thus the name "American Indian" recalls Native Americans debt to Renaissance Italy.

Most western historians describe the centuries since Columbus as a period of enlightenment. They tell of the birth of free nations, and the growth of the technology that promises to benefit all mankind. But there is another story to be told. For the communication between cultures, the years since Columbus have a nightmare quality.

There is a tale of foreign legions invading the Western Continents, conquering and destroying the people, dominating the land, squeezing the wealth and the very life from the earth. The American Indian possesses a fatalistic view of this period of history. Indeed, a number of American Indian traditions maintain that the rise of Western Civilization signalled the beginning of the end of the Age of Man. Western Civilization and the traditional American Indian face each other across a cultural gulf which their languages fail to bridge. Europeans have long been aware that American Indians harbor quaint naturalistic philosophies, but they seem not to have suspected that the Indian has developed a reasonably sophisticated defense of his own lifestyle, a lifestyle which stands in stark opposition to the lifestyle represented by Western Culture. To Europeans, the opposition is usually stated as one simply of philosophies. Should Man adapt the environment to fit his needs, as the European does, or should Man adapt himself to the environment as the Indian does? That question is becoming less rhetorical each day, but it is nevertheless a gross

oversimplification of the differences between the European and the Indian cultures.

Many American Indians believe that Western Civilization has replaced the reverence which the Indian holds for the spirits of rivers, mountains, and animals with a reverence for a technology designed to dominate and destroy these things. Western Civilization seems to possess a god of Transportation which demands sacrifices of land. Western man moves mountains, paves valleys, pollutes rivers, and destroys permanently the migration routes of animals. To serve this Transportation god, he initiates potentially disastrous projects like drilling oil wells offshore, or transporting it across vast areas of virgin wilderness.

Transportation, however, is only one of the gods of Western Culture which requires tremendous sacrifice. Electricity may prove even costlier. Water power produces only a fraction of the electrical power demanded by growing population. Electrical power is produced by steam-powered generators which burn coal, and produce a great deal of air pollution. But even these may not pose the danger to the future posed by atomic powered electric generators. How will their atomic wastes be disposed of? In the air? In the water?

Indians point also to problems caused by the lifestyles of the people involved. Europeans consider themselves very fastidious. Their yards and gardens, manicured, trimmed, and bugless, reflect their attitude about themselves. Even in the microcosm of a European's own backyard we find examples of the sterilization of the environment which typifies the culture. The yard is full of exotic trees which add little or nothing to the ecological balance of the area. The grass is so well-trimmed that no worm or insect can live on it, the garden is sprayed with insecticides until saturated. There are no insects, no worms, no garden snakes or field mice, and no birds. Man is virtually the only mobile occupant.

The house, too, is marvelously clean. Strong detergents dissolve the dirt on the floor; modern plumbing carries it down the drain. Practically every bit of dirt that strays into the house meets this fate, be that dirt on clothes, rugs, or dishes, and tremendous amounts of detergent pour into the surface waters. Environmental control engineers maintain that recycling of water is Mankind's hope for the future. Yet certain substances cannot be removed from the

water supply cheaply enough to be practical, and detergents are one of these. Mercury, which enters the drinking water as the result of emissions from paper plants and electric generating plants is another. Add to these the problems caused by the accepted method of disposing of human wastes, and we see that the home in suburbia may be clean, but the surrounding environment becomes a pigpen.

The entire life-cycle of North America is in jeopardy. Cattle raised in South Dakota are shipped to Buffalo, New York, eaten, and flushed into the Great Lakes. Most food grown in this country is eventually flushed into some body of water, without consideration for ecological balance.

Biologists have found quantities of the pesticides used to control insects and thereby increase production in food. Pesticides have probably already done more to destroy the ecological balance of North America than all of Man's other efforts combined. Each Spring fewer birds return from the South than the previous Spring. Even crows are disappearing. It is hard to believe that any culture could be so anthropocentric that the disappearance of whole species of animals and birds could occur without visible alarm, but such has been the experience of the Twentieth Century. Coal miners carry a bird called a "miner's canary" into the mines. When the bird dies, the miners realize that coal gas is present and they vacate the mine immediately. The birds on the surface of the earth are dying, and this is an indication that pesticides are present. When it is common to drink poisoned water, to eat poisoned food, and to breathe poisoned air, Americans should realize that all is not well. Most Americans believe that the god of Technology will come to the rescue. Many Indians believe that the god of Technology is the problem, not the answer.

All cultures possess some type of technology, and technology, per se, cannot properly be called the villain. The problem arises when the desire for profit controls the technology, for Profit Technology requires that projects proceed, whether or not those projects are in the interests of society. Machines and industry compete with Man for land, air, and water, and where the god of Profit reigns supreme, industry will always win. Accountants, when computing debit and credit figures for industry, assume an unlimited free supply of air and water. They also assume that an industry will persist forever. These obviously false

assumptions are basic to Western Culture. Profit motivated societies will inevitably possess profit-motivated technologies. The present dessication of such areas as Phoenicia and Mesopotamia testify to the results of man's past battles with nature.

It has been suggested that what is needed at this time in America and throughout Western Civilization is a new view of Man's universe. American Indian philosophy possesses a view of the universe and of man's relationship to that universe which is entirely novel to the European mind, and which is extremely difficult to communicate across the vast cultural gap which exists between Indian and non-Indian peoples. One of the major obstacles to an understanding of American Indian philosophy by non-Indians is the inadequacy of the English language to convey Indian concepts.

It is imperative that key terms follow their usage by Indian philosophers. Consider first, the concept of Creator. To the Indian, the term refers to the abstract force called Life, but which we can also describe as the Essence of Life. Creator refers to the process which produces Life and determines that living things interact with each other in such a manner that all living things have purpose. The term also refers to those things we normally consider as non-living, such as sunlight, waters, even tides, which are necessary for the sustenance of living things. And lastly, Creator refers even more abstractly to the relationship between the sun, the moon, the earth, and the stars, for it is believed that this relationship contributes both directly and indirectly to life on this planet. No one of these concepts adequately describes what is meant by Creator without the others.

If one is able to grasp the meaning of the term Creator, one should find new understanding of the statements found in Indian prayers. "The Creator placed upon the earth waters, and we are grateful that these waters are here for they cleanse the earth and we use them daily in our own affairs upon the earth." Creator, then, refers to all those things which support Life in the Plan of Creation, and it refers also to the life force which exists on the Earth.

The second term which I wish to define is Instinct. Most Europeans have a very negative concept of Instinct. To most, instinct refers to sex drives, hunger, fear or anger. We know that instincts guide salmon to their spawning grounds

and migratory birds to their nesting places, but generally the concept seems to have little positive utility. I wish, however, to expand this general concept of Instinct. We are aware that man is subject to various degrees of consciousness. Indians long ago developed what has come to be termed "dream psychology" into a reasonably sophisticated art. They recognized that dreams were very often subdued manifestations of the will, and, in some cases, they interpreted the dreams and attempted to appease the will. (This is especially true among the Iroquois who place great importance upon dreams.)

Imagine for a moment that the mind is penetrable, and that deep within the mind there exists a form of consciousness which is not conditioned by the external experiences of individuals. Assuming that this innermost consciousness exists, let us call this Instinct. Many Indian peoples believe that the consciousness of experience may be successfully penetrated through such "purification" rites as fasting, sauna baths, or prolonged isolation without sleep, and what I have termed Instinct, constitutes a common denominator between Man and the natural world.

Each year, the Hopis of Arizona send runners in four directions from their sacred mesas. The runners return carrying poisonous serpents which they have captured unharmed by hand. Those chosen for this ceremony—the Hopi Snake Dance—enter the Kiva, a pit structure approximately twelve feet square, and completely shut off from the sunlight. During the period when the men stay with the snakes, they attempt to become completely at ease with the serpents. Occasionally, a man is bitten and, failing in his mission, must leave the kiva. But during the days this ritual takes place, these men are usually able to achieve great familiarity with the serpents. At the end of that period of time, if a man has truly purified himself, both in mind and in spirit, the snake will come to him and he will be able to handle it without fear of being bitten.

I believe that the Hopis use the poisonous serpent as a symbol of that which is pure Instinct in nature. The serpent does not reason, and it knows no emotion. Nor does it bear guilt. Being in the presence of such a serpent and attaining, to a degree, the trust of the snake, is truly a test of a man's ability to become at ease mentally (and spiritually) with a tangible force in nature. At the end of the ceremony, the

men dance in the sunlight with the snakes, symbolizing the dancer's spiritual unity with the snake. Following the ritual, the serpents are returned to the areas from which they were captured, still unharmed.

The Hopis believe, as do the Hindi, that certain parts of the body possess specific spiritual powers. At the top of the head, they describe a theoretical "trapdoor," and this "trapdoor" is open only to those individuals who have achieved a pureness of mind such as is achieved by the snake dancers. When the trapdoor is open, it is said that a man is then able to see the Plan of the Creator. An understanding of the term Creator should bring one closer to an understanding of the Plan of the Creator. The ability to attain a view or a sign of the Plan of Creation is the ultimate purpose of inducing visions among many Indian cultures.

Indian people interpret the Plan of the Creator as a spiritual basis for the philosophy that man was originally destined to adapt himself to the Natural World. In many Indian cultures there exist traditions which parallel the Judaic tradition of a Garden of Eden. It is said that once, long ago, men existed in complete harmony with nature. As time passed, men came to know such things as greed and hate, and began to diverge from the original Plan of Creation. As this divergence continues, man seals his own destiny.

The Iroquois, believing that man had reached a point of continual warfare, attempted to design and enforce a political system under which Man would follow the Plan of the Creator. The Great Law of the Iroquois outlines a governmental system, but it also designs a theocracy which promotes tribalism, cultural diversity, strong family ties, and a dependence upon agriculture and hunting. The Iroquois believed that the Plan intended that Indian people raise the foodstuffs which Nature provided for them. They knew that generations of Indian peoples had developed these crops, (corn, beans, and squash,) and that nowhere in Nature do they appear in the same form. The Plan of Creation also inspired the tradition of gathering periodically to hold rituals at which the blessings of life are recounted. It was (and still is) felt that while the rituals are performed, the people will not forget the duties of all things in Nature, including Man.

The concepts of family, clan, and tribe have a spiritual meaning to Indian people, for they interpret the Plan of Creation as an instinctive directive to Indian people

that they live in the manner prescribed by tradition. Non-Indian people feel that reason leads men to conclude that peace is superior to war as a way of life, that greed is evil, that Man should live with Nature, families should live together harmoniously, etc. etc. But a society which comes to know things only through deductive and/or inductive logics of the reasoning mind tends to build value systems which miss the most profound point of existence: those things which humans value most are derived from Instinct, and Instinct provides the primary body of knowledge directed toward insuring Man's survival as a species. Indians have developed this body of knowledge through what is known as tradition. In Indian tradition, moreover, there exist prophesies which predict the destruction of the human race by the actions of men.

I believe that human life on this planet is ultimately doomed unless radical change occurs in industrial societies. What is needed is a new shared dominant religion, a different dominant way of life. I cannot accept the argument that technology will improve man's lifestyle and insure future generations of happiness. Were technology to triumph, consider the spiritual quality of life in a treeless, fishless, birdless, steel-and-concrete world. There is a beauty to the silence of the forest or a river, but each year that silence becomes more ominous because it becomes more permanent.

Until this society comes to understand that man is no more important to the over-all scheme of life than are birds, and that the force of life necessary to birds is the same as the force of life necessary to Man, the Indian and the non-Indian will be unable to communicate even on basic levels. Until this society realizes that there should exist in the individual a spiritual and personal reverence for Life and that this reverence demands a new code of ethics for the entire society, Indian peoples will stand with the prophets of doom. The haunting belief persists that the true Plan of Creation intended that when the final darkness comes, and Man wraps himself in the blanket of the earth to face the stars, then and only then will he be at peace with his own race and with Nature.

JOHN MASON GETS SASSACUS' HEAD

Jefferson Davis

John Mason dreams
at dusk, as fat flies buzz,
thump the glass pane;
among summer's feedings, John Mason dreams;
the bombers punch their time clocks
and head west from Connecticut
like wagons, carrying fire and no light
into India
to burn everything wild, at last—
John Mason calls this
"destroying enemy sanctuaries".

He wakes, and
the head is brought to him
black hair matted, dark eyes sewn shut
lips laced with thongs, head
of Sassacus,
and his hands
the dread Indian, not a man—
the darkness clutching the trees
of his nightmare,
the savage dance
of the sea's combers in his blood
the song that was medicine.
John Mason is safe, and sleeps

and dreams again—
he grows metal wings
one white eye plucked out
he weeps, his eye opens and
cylindrical locusts of steel
clatter from the grey socket
onto women
whose small bodies glow
with their own knowledge
who plant rice
dressed in identical clothes
who sing as they sow
and do not wear makeup.
Their eyes are jelled

by the iron, the fire
without light eats their tongues—
John Mason dreams
this is "pacification"—
He feels at peace;
he sees the barrels of guns
suck their dark bodies
into "refineries" owned by Texaco,
furnaces crack red blood
into plastic and gasoline,
hordes of starved ball bearings
rip and feed on Vietnamese' flesh
from their fine black hair
machines press black tires
on which the bombers land
and steer to their short rest—
"The new markets are opening!"
John Mason dreams.

Helicopters clatter over the slick sea
diesel ships groan after them
harpoons explode in whale's hearts
and smash to slush
distinct articulate throats,
the endless song they have sung
to celebrate their meetings, their sea,
the insatiable blades sever—
to feed the white cats
which purr on America's television screens.

John Mason dreams—
it is almost over, he
does not want to
feel the hand
shake his shoulder
to wake him up—
he wants to sleep always
alone in a steel room
plastic smack dripping into his fine arm—
long stopped, the lapping of his blood—
and dream what he has mastered.

AN INTERVIEW WITH RARIHOKWATS

Rarihokwats, who is occasionally referred to as Jerry Gambill, is the editor of *Akwesasne Notes*, a 48 page newspaper dealing in Indian affairs. The editors of this journal highly recommend *Akwesasne Notes* to any individuals interested in current American Indian problems. Subscription is by donation. (This is the newspaper's policy. We recommend subscribers send about $5.00 per year because of the informal nature by which this newspaper collects funds.) Write:

Akwesasne Notes
R.D. #1
Rooseveltown, New York 13683

The following interview of Rarihokwats was transcribed from an interview on radio station WBFO in Buffalo held by Elaine Kolb on July 13, 1970.

My name is Rarihokwats. I'm from Bear Clan of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne, which some people may know as St. Regis. I'm part of a group which calls itself the White Roots of Peace, a very ancient Iroquois concept about how peoples can come together in unity and peace. Our group is a communications group, of a sort; it's so hard to describe what we do in any of the conventional terms. It is a communications group because we put out a newspaper called *Akwesasne Notes*, which is circulated to about 10,000 people on this continent both in Canada and in the U.S. In a sense, it's sort of like an Indian Press Service, and we also have an Indian film crew that is working in cooperation with the National Film Board of Canada and is making not just movies about Indians but movies by Indians. Finally, we have a group that travels about eight months of the year, meeting with Indian communities and Indian Centers in the city and on reservations. (This last year it has gone about 30,000 miles in both the U.S. and Canada.) We also talk with groups in universities and colleges so that we can bring about understanding between our people and their people. Our main objective is building Indian unity on the continent, not just trying to bring together the Mohawks but trying to get all Indian people to come together, not as Indians, but as

Mohawks, Navajos, Sioux, as Pomos and Pauites, retaining separate identities but yet understanding and cooperating with each other. We also are working to give encouragement to Indian traditionalists, those who still follow their Indian values, practices and beliefs, and we encourage people to seek out these traditionalists in their own communities and to use them as teachers and models. And then, of course, all of this is very good leadership training for the people who are participating because people who are doing it learn how to make films, know how to put out a newspaper, and how to speak.

Q. Could you tell us a little bit more about the newspaper, how it's organized, about the films crews and your travels around the country, and what it is all for; where does the money go?

A. The newspaper contains Indian news, 48 pages of it from all over the continent, but we decided that the paper not only had to be Indian in its content but also had to be Indian in its organization, distribution and everything else. Therefore we don't have any paid subscription list. If people want the newspaper they get it. If they have some money that they can donate to help for the printing of the next issue, they donate it. People send in clippings and writings from all over the country for which they are not paid. People sell the paper. It's all handled on a participatory basis, and it works. We don't make any money on the paper; but we do get enough that we can put out an issue once a month, and that means depending upon over $1,000.00 in donations every month, and we get it. The group that travels to colleges and universities saves any money that is left over from our ordinary traveling expenses—each of the persons traveling with us takes out a dollar a day for cigarettes, pop and things like that; but all of the rest of the money goes into a fund for various community purposes, such as building a new Longhouse and planting the clan gardens. It's being used to help finance the activities at Stanley Island,[1] and it can help

1. An island in the St. Lawrence River being occupied to enforce the Mohawk claim to it. This occupation is discussed below – *Editor's Note*

finance legal fees or whatever; but it does not belong to us. It belongs to the people from which we come; we don't come just as individuals, we come as people of the Mohawk Nation—from the Mohawk Nation. That's really who we are, and our identity is something that runs contrary to the general American society, where people are taught to be individuals and to express their individuality in so many ways. We are all individuals; and we are all very free. But we are people from a Nation, to which we owe our allegiance and for which we are working.

It's no good for us to get ahead if our people can't get ahead too. We all have to move ahead together. The American dream is climbing up a ladder somewhere, at the top of which is a great big NEON DOLLAR SIGN, that flashes on and off, and individuals try to get up there by climbing all over everyone else's back, and when they get there, people say, "Oh yes, now I'm a success." In Indian terms, in a way, we have a ladder too, but at the top of our ladder are babies. Even babies who are not yet born. Babies whose faces are coming toward us in generations yet to come, for we're taught by our elders that as we climb that ladder with the unborn generations as our goal, we must carry our children in our arms and our old people on our backs. So that as we move up that ladder, we all move together as a people, and nobody gets left behind. I think that's one of the basic differences in values between our two peoples. And that is why what we earn, or whatever we get, goes to our people, and they in turn look after us.

Q. Most people have seen in the paper that Indians all over the country are making moves to reclaim land which they were promised by treaty, treaties that were broken. Do you have any idea what started this more militant kind of approach?

A. I think it is a mistake to see it entirely as a current situation: Indians fighting back, Indians attempting to retain their identity, and Indians trying to keep lands that are rightfully theirs. Who do you want to go back to? Sitting Bull, Tacomsa, Pontiac? The current movement is very much a part of that historical scene. The many Indian nations have been suppressed for a long time: torn apart, made refugees, and scattered across the country; now again many of them

are getting themselves together, getting enough food in their stomachs to have enough strength to begin to say once again, "I am a Sioux, I am a Mohawk, I am a Seneca, and I'm not going to be pushed around anymore." Also, the other, what do you want to call them, revolutions or something...the change in the youth scene, the Black Power movement, the whole civil rights change, have, although I don't want to identify the Indian movement with all of this because I think many of their goals are very different, given many Indian young people a sense of courage. Indians have become a part of the whole youth movement to overthrow the white culture that is taught in their schools, but Indian young people have something to go back to, whereas most white young kids have to create a culture of their own to replace the culture they are throwing out. The Indians could go back to becoming Mohawks, or becoming Senecas, once again and use this as a foundation for their struggles.

I think it is a mistake to see Alcatraz and Stanley Island, Fort Lawton and Ellis Island, and the other land reclaiming, as simply the "reclaiming of land." It isn't so much the land that the people are after, it's a chance of saying that we're not going to be pushed around anymore. We're not going to let you push around my mother the Earth anymore.

This is land that is going to become Indian land once again. Not so much from the point of view of ownership, but from the point of view of relationship and treatment. Everyone sees it as "Oh well, we're going to lose our land, we're going to lose our houses, our golf courses, and things." That's not what Indians are saying. We're not saying that everyone has to pack up and go back to Europe or Africa. We are saying that when you are in someone else's house, you're supposed to treat your host with respect, and you're also supposed to treat that house with respect. The people who are visitors on this continent have got to begin to treat this house and the Mother Earth with respect. That is what Indians are saying.

Q. Particularly with the new movement in Ecology—the Indians have taken a lead in that for centuries; this has been a traditional kind of thing—where you consider the Earth your Mother—Right?—What the United States has done, basically, is just ravage that earth. Do you find people

more receptive to this now?

A. Yes and no! I don't want to put down the Ecology movement because it's certainly better than the Pollution movement that the country has been getting for so long. On the other hand, I don't think Indians are taking leadership in this. The Ecology people, as I hear what they are saying, want to keep their standard of living and their oppression of other peoples, but they don't want to have oil slicks on their beaches when they go take their holidays. That's what I think they're saying. They don't think about the kind of pollution that people face in the slums. They don't think about lowering their standard of living in the material sense, so that they can raise their standard of living in the spiritual sense, and they don't have any sense of relationship with the other beings on the earth, the tree beings, the water beings, and the stone beings. The Ecology movement is simply—"We don't want to have all this polluted air, so let's put some kind of device on those smoke stacks," but they will continue to burn up stuff from the earth. The Indians have no part of this movement and no real understanding of what it's about because it's built on an entirely different value scheme. If people will really get into what Ecology means, then Indian people have a great deal that they can teach.

When they had the Earth Day on April 22, how many campuses had Indian Speakers? You see. No, they brought in the pollution control experts to speak. Brought in Ralph Nader. They didn't bring in the Indian people, who should have been in the forefront because they could have given the Ecology movement the spiritual basis that it lacks right now.

Q. **Could you tell us a little about the Iroquois Nation. About the different parts of it. How it's organized. Maybe some of the problems that Iroquois are having with Canada and the United States?**

A. Historically there have been five basic Iroquois Nations: Onondaugas, Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas, Senecas and then the Tuscaroras, which came together to make up what the Indian people in Mohawk nation call *Ho deh nay shon ney*, or people of the longhouse, or what the French call the Iroquois, and what the British call the League of Six Nations. Even Mohawk is not a word in the Mohawk

language; our own people are *Gong nwang gey hog ah*, or People of the Flintstone. Each of the Nations has a different name for themselves from what the white people use, or from the name that I need to use when I speak in English.

These nations came together many, many centuries ago to form a United Nations of people for purposes of peace. It was a disarmament program in which people buried their weapons of war and agreed to give up the freedom of fighting in order that they might have all the other freedoms. It was a religious, spiritual, and political movement all intertwined. The United States prides itself in the separation of church and state, but I think that they just have a new religion based on economics and on theories of education and so forth. But the Iroquois Constitution, which brought together all these nations (which at one time were fighting among each other) into a union which exists to this day, is a very important document, to which the people of the United States can trace their principles of Freedom, their Bill of Rights, and their own constitution. It doesn't go back to the Magna Carta or things from Europe; it came from this continent and is very much a part of it.

Our problems come from the Canadian and American governments, who at one time were very happy to sit underneath the Tree of Peace and be part of this United Nations. Then they were weak, and glad enough to take the principles from the constitution to make their own constitution, but who say now that all the Indian people, including the Iroquois people, have got to assimilate. "You've got to jump in this main stream. You've got to integrate. You've got to help build the American nation, Canadian Nation. You're going to be citizens of our country. You can no longer be citizens of Seneca or citizens of Mohawk." When this becomes implemented by sending in all kinds of missionaries, teachers, and Indian agents to exercise control over affairs on the reserve, and later by sending in O.E.O. and economic development officers and so on, it is very difficult for us to keep our heads above water and for us to consider the generations yet to come. While we are so busy fighting off these encroachments upon our sovereignty and upon our spirits, and until we become strong enough to fight this off, or until the United States begins to develop some sense of decency in relation to its treatment of all Indians, then we are going to have a lot of these problems.

Usually when White People look at Indian reserves, what they consider to be the problems are poverty, kids dropping out from school, too much drinking, things of this sort. It's true that these things happen; but it is also true that these are symptoms of a problem that lies outside the reserve. The problem isn't there. It's sort of like having a tooth-ache, or something that begins to effect your whole body and makes you tired and gives you a headache and rheumatism. And if you try to treat those symptoms, you ignore the basic problem that is really bothering you. The problem that is bothering us is this encroachment of the Canadian and American governments in our communities and in our ways of life. So often it is hard to know where to begin to talk to people about this because we're talking from the point of view of two different value systems, and it's difficult to try to get understanding when all people think about is money. When they try to say, "Yes, but you've got to advance materially. You've got to raise your standard of living, your kids have got to get college educations." And actually when you get right down to it, the people who have kept our Indian communities alive, as long as they have, have been the drop-outs. Instead of condemning the drop-outs, we should praise them. They are our real heros. They are the ones who got out of the system in time enough that they could still remain Indians. This is one of the things I hope that Indian Studies programs at the University here in Buffalo and other places can avoid: having kids come out as graduates, well-educated and knowing all they need to know academically, who are so alienated from their community that when they go back there, all they see is a bunch of "stupid Indians."

The Indian people in the communities wonder who these apparent White People are, who were once Indians, coming back to tell us what to do. Until these two groups can come together on some common basis, then there's going to be that alienation and kids are going to continue to drop out from school.

Q. **Recently there was a group of Indians that went to a place called Stanley Island claiming that it was theirs from a treaty. Could you explain a little bit about that?**

A. Well, this happened at Akwesasne, our own

community. Stanley Island happens to lie on that part of the St. Lawrence River which Canada says is theirs, and which we Mohawks say is ours. Stanley Island was leased out by the Canadian Government to some white people for $6.00 a year for 99 years. This is a very nice 40 acre island, right on the river, right on the seaway channel, on which they put a golf course, a hotel, and 14 or 15 different cottages that are leased out for $300.00 a year; the Indians get $6.00 out of that income. We just didn't want that arrangement to continue any longer even if the man did have a lease that would stand up in the Canadian courts. So we just went over and decided to occupy the island. We have been on the island for several months now since the ninth of May (1970).

We have also taken back Loon Island, which was completely taken over by white people for development as a cottage site. They say Loon Island is not Indian land, although at one time the Canadian Government had also leased this island from the Indians for a few dollars a year. This may seem remote from New York State and everything, when I talk about the Canadian Government, but the fact is that there are many Indian lands in New York State which still have not yet been accounted for. I'm not just talking in financial terms, but I'm talking also about lands which were stolen from Indian people and are now being misused, which Indian people will once again reclaim.

It sort of comes as a surprise, I think, to a lot of people to say, you know, "Indians, 1970?—What's going on here, I thought all Indians were citizens and excepting for a few recalcitrant Navajos somewhere that all Indians were happy. You know, they put up all this ironwork and they earn all this good money and everything, what's all the problem about? Why are these Indians on the reservation anyhow? They should get into the cities and into the suburbs and get off the reservations." What I think people don't understand is that long after the U.S. has ceased to exist, there are still going to be Senecas and Mohawks and Onondaugas, here in New York State as Senecas and Mohawks and Onondaugas. These are nations that came from this continent, were born on this continent, are made from the earth of this continent, and will be a part of the earth of this continent long after the United States is in maybe one page of somebody's history book somewhere. And when people begin to understand the permanence of all of this,

maybe they are going to see Senecas and Mohawks as people. Right now they don't see us as Indians. Indians have become invisible in what is happening. This is why Alcatraz, Stanley Island, Ellis Island, and Fort Lawton are important to us, because it is bringing to a few people, at least, the idea that it is not all over yet, and it is not going to be all over yet.

Q. There is a term I have heard—Government Termination. What does this mean?

A. Well, Termination is a very old policy; you can go back to the 1600's for termination. Then they terminated with guns and cannons and that kind of thing. Many Indian nations were terminated in that manner. After the campaign against the Sioux and in the Northwest in the late 1800's, which is less than one hundred years ago, the policy of the country changed a little bit because Indians were dying off anyhow. They all had small pox and TB and things like that; the population of the Indians were going down so fast that they called Indians the "Vanishing Americans". They thought that in a few generations there would be no Indians left, but then something happened and now Indians are increasing very rapidly. I don't think there is much danger of our extinction in physical terms. So to exterminate the Indians the government developed other programs which were usually called termination. Termination basically means that people stop being Indians and that the government no longer recognizes them as Indians, as the original people on this continent; they become citizens just like everybody else.

Now I know a lot of American people will say, "Well, what's the matter with being like everyone else, what's the matter with being this way?" But we know and have watched over the years this melting pot idea, and we see that there are a lot of people in this country that haven't melted down too well. When they have jumped into the melting pot, they haven't really been accepted; they become what you call minority groups. This is something very foreign to our communities because we don't have minorities of this kind. We are just all one people with one mind, one heart. So Indian people are not anxious to terminate because that means that their old people will go into the same old age homes and die there. It means that their children will start to shoot heroin into their veins, and it means that their land will

be exploited and raped like all the other land on the continent. It means that they will cease to be Senecas, and Mohawks, and will somehow or other vanish. So we want to keep all of that alive. And the people who are keeping that alive are the traditional people.

When you go into an Indian community that has become all Christian, no one knows how to dance, no one knows their own language, everyone lives in split-level houses, everyone has a 40-hour-week job, 50 weeks out of the year; then it's easy for the government to say, "Look, you've become White People!" "You're immigrants in your own land and you have become a part of the American Nation, let's recognize that and we will just stop calling you Indians!" So, it's the traditional people that we, White Roots of Peace, are attempting to give encouragement to. We are saying "Keep going for that way you will keep your Indian Nation alive, and those ceremonies that are so vital to this continent will continue," because we believe that when Indians all over this country stop doing those ceremonies, there will be a great catastrophe. It will mean the end of this world maybe. So we give encouragement to the traditional people. We encourage people to speak their own language. We don't want everyone to become Mohawk even though we are all Mohawks who go around traveling. We say—"Do those Navajo dances, sing those Pomo songs, speak that Pauite language, continue to be a people." And we can live together as brothers in that way. We have a saying that everyone is one family and we all live in the same longhouse, with the sky as its roof and Mother Earth as the floor; but we each keep our own council fires going. We each remain separate in that way. These are vital human rights.

I have a message, I guess, to the white people in particular, non-Indians. Many of you who listen to this will say, "Yes, isn't it terrible what happened to the Indians in the past, and I'm so embarrassed about some of the things that my ancestors have done, and I just feel so sorry for the Indians, and I really want to do whatever I can do to help, and, etc."

I don't know whether you realize that the kind of things that you feel so sorry about are still happening today. The Wampum belts which belong to the Iroquois people are in the New York State Museum, and New York State won't give them back. The Alaskan people are being robbed of their

land for the development of oil interests, which not only are going to take away land from the Indians, but will likely ruin the land in Alaska and destroy the whole relationship between the animals and plants; everything in Alaska is going to be buried in an oil slick. The people in northern Wisconsin are about to lose a big chunk of their lands for a National Park. There's the Peebody Coal Company which is taking over Hopi lands to turn the Sacred Black Mesa into coal dust, wash it down to the Colorado River with water that the Hopis need for their corn, and then burn it, sending up huge clouds of soot all over the place. You can go into California, where there's the problem that the Pit River people are having with their lands; you can go into Chicago. You know, just name any place on the continent, and you will find an exploitation of Indian People that is going on right today.

You don't even have to limit it to just this continent. You can go into South America where Indian People are being killed-off by the tens of thousands and where it is being estimated that by 1980 there will not be a single Indian left in countries like Brazil and Peru. There, people are coming in and saying, "We need to protect your health, so come and get vaccinated for Small Pox;" but they get vaccinated with live Small Pox, and two weeks later everyone in the village is dead. Or planes come over and drop off bags of sugar which the people use in cooking, but they find that the sugar has been spiked with arsenic, and the next morning the whole village is dead. This is being done so that the land can be taken away to be developed for plantations, largely for American interests. So that oil prospectors can go in. It's being done with the knowledge of, the collaboration of, the participation of the American people. The western frontier has moved south. What happened to the Sioux, what happened to the Navajos, and what happened to the Apache, is now happening to the Santos Largos and other people in South America. So don't feel too comfortable as you sit and listen to this. Don't feel too sorry for the Indians and want to do something to help like sending some old clothes to the reservations; things have got to change. And if you really want to do something, find out the way in which people in your society are living off the backs of the Indians, and then find some way to get off their backs; that's what you can do if you really feel sorry.

INDIAN WARS AND VIETNAM

John Trimbur

The first meeting of western Europeans and native Americans brought a clear and profound truth to the world. The Aztec Tauhtile thought that the Spanish conquistodores were troubled with a disease of the heart, for which gold was the specific remedy. Today, over four hundred years later, the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America make the same diagnosis of western civilization and particularly of the United States and its imperial policies. Tauhtile's perception of western motives has been broadened by an understanding of the imperialist nature of the conquest of North America and, more recently, of America's penetration into Latin America and Asia.

Not surprisingly, the methods and goals have been the same: the seizure of control of natural resources from native populations and the incorporation of these populations into the centralized markets of the North American metropolis. It should come as no shock to the student of American history that there are great similarities between the Indochinese war and the series of Indian wars in America. The parallels between war atrocities such as My Lai and Indian massacres like Sand Creek and Wounded Knee are evident, but these events should not be seen in isolation from the policies that led to them and the people whom these policies benefit. The massacre of Indian and Vietnamese people represents more than a tragic mistake or an irrational racism (although racism helps account for the particular fury of the massacres). The massacres are rooted in rational, calculated decisions of America's business oligarchy seeking raw material for their industries, new markets for their products, and opportunities for investment of their capital. These aims are enforced and enacted by the government and army, whether in the name of protection against the Indian threat or of containing communism. It should be easy to see how imperialism has brought America into conflict with the Third World and why patriotic people in Indochina follow the example of American Indians in resisting American claims to their land and lives, and asserting the right to control their futures.

More specifically, what are the historical parallels between imperialist policy aimed at the native American and that aimed at the Indochinese people? The classic strategy of

imperial control has been to divide and rule, fragmenting conquered people into competing groups and reducing the possibilities of mass resistance.

In North America, the fur trade provided the colonial powers the initial means of control. Not only did tribes drawn into trade rely increasingly on factory-made goods and fire-arms traded for furs, but they fought among themselves for control of hunting and trapping grounds. Along with trade came the two scourges of western civilization: disease and alcohol. Smallpox decimated Indian populations; in 1837 an epidemic reduced the Mandans from fifteen hundred to thirty-one during the worst recorded case. Alcohol, used by traders in hopes of obtaining furs cheaper or of simply stealing them from drunken Indians, was one of the white man's most cynical assaults on Indian integrity.

Similar to the disruption caused by trade was the seizure of Indian land by speculation-minded American settlers, pushing eastern tribes across the Mississippi River. The relocation of the Cherokees in 1837 is the classic example and, by 1840, over one hundred thousand Indians had been shoved into the grasslands, resulting in increased tribal warfare and competition for a limited subsistence base.

When it proved impossible to play tribes off against each other, the United States government appointed agreeable Indians as chiefs of their tribes and negotiated treaties with them. In 1875, a government-appointed chief of the Nez Perces sold the Wallowa Valley to the United States. Chief Joseph's reply to the sale of his ancestral homeland shows the duplicity of client governments. He spoke, "Suppose a white man should come to me and say, 'Joseph, I like your horses. I want to buy them.' I say to him, 'No, my horses suit me; I will not sell them.' Then he goes to my neighbor and says to him, 'Joseph has some good horses. I want to buy them but he refuses to sell.' My neighbor answers, 'Pay me the money and I will sell you Joseph's horses.' The white man returns to me and says, 'Joseph, I have bought your horses and you must let me have them.' If we sold our land to the government, this is the way they bought it."

In Indochina, the same scheme of divide and rule has been used, first by the French and now by the Americans. The French divided Vietnam into three administrative units ruled by petty bureaucrats competing for favors of the

colonial regime. In their attempt to exacerbate regional differences, the French outlawed the word "Vietnam". After the Geneva Accords of 1954, the United States prevented elections to re-unify the country and has maintained a series of client governments to mask their aim of controlling the development of Vietnam. Official statements have represented the war as one between the separate countries of North and South Vietnam or as a civil war between Saigon (supported by the Americans) and the NLF (supported by North Vietnam). Despite these claims, the Thieu-Ky puppet government exists only through American aid and firepower, serving as a front for an American war waged without popular support against the people of Vietnam. That America trains and equips the South Vietnamese army and recruits and pays mercenaries throughout Indochina is the divide and rule strategy, getting other people to do the fighting for America's empire.

Political control by imperialist powers has never been totally effective. No means have been found to prevent the rise of natural leaders like Pontiac, Tecumseh, and Crazy Horse and their struggle to unite Indians in defense of their land and lives. Similarly, Ho Chi Minh emerged to lead patriotic Vietnamese against French colonialism and American imperialism. It is no accident that Ho studied military tactics of the Indian resistance. American policy, however, extends beyond political institutions and is pointed at the fragmentation of the economic and social base and the consolidation of power and wealth. The differences between America's dealings with tribal societies in North America and peasant societies in Indochina are interesting, but the aims of dominating the economy and eliminating pre-capitalist forms are the same. Imperialists do not conquer merely for the sake of glory, but so that the conquered will work to produce wealth for them.

The fur trade in North America made major changes in the tribal economies; production regulated by use changed to production for trade. The most important economic tie extended beyond the tribe to the white trader and the markets in urban centers. To pay off loans and purchase merchandise, Indians had to increase their take of furs, trapping out many areas and hastening the destruction of their traditional economy's base. On the Great Plains, while treaties gobbled up Indian land, between 1871 and 1874 hide

hunters slaughtered the great buffalo herds, the Plains Indians' major source of subsistence, to provide hides for the new tanning process developed by the leather industry.

The changes in traditional Indian economies cannot be understood without reference to the demands of the imperialist economy. The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 illustrates this point in a number of ways. The act was passed to break up tribal holdings and give the titles to parcels of land to individual Indians. By 1887 most of the good public land was sold and settled; the Indian wars were over, leaving an "Indian problem" to be resolved. Swindling whites converged on Indian territories to defraud individual tribesmen of land now scarce and valuable, reducing Indian holdings from 130,000,000 acres in 1887 to 49,000,000 in 1933. The "Indian problem" was answered by integrating Indians into the economic system as wage laborers. By 1960, 36.6% of Indians lived in cities to work for America's industries and corporations. Such integration operates through the forces of poverty and hunger on the reservations, where 40% unemployment is the norm. When jobs and wages in the cities have not proved attractive, the federal government has threatened to pass termination acts to break up the reservations, as has already been done to the Menominee and Catawba tribes in Wisconsin and South Carolina, for example.

In Vietnam, the French laid the groundwork of economic control through a plantation system that extracted rubber and rice for export, drastically reduced communal land holdings, and left 61% of the peasants land-less sharecroppers and laborers. Under American occupation, the relocation of peasants, first into strategic hamlets and now into the urban centers, and the devastation of the countryside by bombs and herbicides, makes any economy, traditional or otherwise, impossible.

The brutality of such military intervention suggests that something more than the professed aims of fulfilling treaty commitments and safeguarding Vietnam from communism is at stake. Just as the Indian wars were fought for the needs of a burgeoning capitalist economy, so is the Indochina war fought for an economy now grown into a world system dominated by international corporations. Vietnam, as Henry Cabot Lodge has put it, "does not exist in a geographical vacuum—from it large storehouses of wealth

and population can be influenced and undermined." To hold Vietnam "can affect the future of Philippines and Formosa to the east, Thailand and Burma with their huge rice surpluses to the west, and Malaysia and Indonesia with their rubber, ore, and tin to the south."

That Southeast Asia is relatively underdeveloped should not hide the fact that the area contains scarce resources necessary for the workings of American industry, like the oil reserves recently discovered off the Indochinese coast. It is frequently argued by apologists for American imperialism that American investment is the only means for poor countries to exploit such resources and develop economically. But what has American investment and development of resources discovered on Indian lands meant for Indians? The discovery of gold in the Black Hills brought on the final defeat of the Sioux nation. Oil companies drilling on Indian land in Oklahoma and Alaska are not about to share their profits. In fact, the Alaska pipeline endangers the fragile tundra ecology that Alaskan Eskimos and Indians depend on for their livelihood.

The same story holds true throughout the Third World. From 1950 to 1965 direct American investments totalled $9.0 billion, while $25.6 billion returned to the United states, a net intake of $16.6 billion, or about a billion dollars a year. Despite the myths of American benevolence, the American ruling class is plundering and getting rich off the underdeveloped countries; the empire does not split up the spoils.

It is important to understand that the machinations of imperial policy do not go unopposed and that oppressed people do not accept passively the empire's claims on their land and lives. American Indians waged a fierce resistance to white America and, despite the annihilation of whole tribes, and economic pressures, have kept Indian culture vital. The tribal values of cooperation and reverence for the earth stand in direct contrast to the competitive, exploitative values of the dominant white culture.

For over twenty years, the people's war fought by the Vietnamese has defeated the massive fire-power and sophisticated war machinery of first the French and now the Americans. The recent invasion into Laos by Americans and Saigon puppet troops showed once again that the Vietnamese cannot be defeated by the world's most advanced warfare

technology. The spirit of the Vietnamese people continues to win decisive victories over American agression.

In the face of such resistances American agression is heightened to even greater force. A people's war, whether fought by Indians or Vietnamese, is the united community in conflict with the American army. The final parallel to be drawn between the Indian and Vietnamese wars is that of genocide. Because they represent human resources and the will to continue struggle in the future, women and children are considered enemies by American forces. The massacres of entire Indian tribes and the slaughter of villages of Vietnamese peasants are the result of this aspect of imperialism.

Colonel Chivington's instruction to his men before the Sand Creek massacre of 1864 were simple and straight-forward: "Kill and scalp all, big and little; nits make lice." Such sentiments must sound familiar to Americans who have seen similar massacres occur in Vietnam one hundred years later. We must understand, however, that more than the military difficulty of distinguishing "friendlies" from "hostiles" is involved. Genocide is rooted not only in the claims of an imperialist system, but also requires an ideology of racism to depersonalize those people, whether Indians or Vietnamese, under attack.

Racism is not an incidental detail to imperialism, but is the imperialist's means of legitimizing his usurpation of control of native land and life. From the imagined heroism and virility of Indian-killers portrayed in the dime novels of the nineteenth century, to Nixon's speeches about the committment and self-sacrifice of "our boys" over in Vietnam, the focus of national attention has been on the virtues of the oppressor. By extolling the virtues of the United States' mission to bring civilization to the Indians and democracy and self-determination to the Vietnamese, imperialists use racism to explain the differences in culture to their own benefit. By downgrading their usurped victims, whether as lazy, unthrifty, or child-like; imperialists define deficiencies that require their protection, in fact, their direct intervention. Because these differences and deficiencies are projected as immutable, whether based on biology or culture, racism becomes more than an attitude of mind, but rather an institutional arrangement.

In this way, we see that the policy of assimilation

cannot be a genuine aim, for assimilation would destroy the basis of imperialist privilege. It is to greater advantage, for example, to project the facist definition that Indians, as well as blacks and Chicanos, are not profitable to hire and thus can be paid unreasonable wages. Racism serves the economic needs of the ruling class by integrating non-white people into the economy in the most marginal way, through sporadic or seasonal employment, at the lowest wages.

The history of American imperialism, finally, raises profound questions about the relation of advanced countries to underdeveloped ones, and the relation of dominant cultures to ethnic minorities. Is it a law of history, as the "survival of the fittest" school of thought would argue, that the stronger, more complex cultures will inevitably subjugate and victimize the simpler? Though searching the historical record of western countries might make one pessimistic, countries like China and North Vietnam are learning from their bitter experience with western imperialism and beginning to develop models of cultural pluralism and mutual assistance.

The Chinese revolution has established five autonomous regions where ethnic minorities have the rights of self-rule and self-determination. To reverse centuries of oppression and exploitation of the minorities by the Chinese majority—the "Great Han chauvinism"—Chinese policy is not confined to theoretically prohibiting discrimination, but provides for the development of the autonomous regions. The minorities are "modernizing" and discarding some of the traditional ways, to be sure, but their national cultures—religion, customs, and habits—have been respected and change has come at their own pace. This change, the minorities entrance into the modern world of new China, has meant, moreover, an end to chronic famine and vastly improved health care. Diseases like bubonic plague in Inner Mongolia and malaria in the southeast, which once wiped out whole villages, and syphilis in Tibet, which made many marriages sterile, no longer exist. The population of Mongolians, in decline twenty years ago, is on a healthy rise. The North Vietnamese follow a similar non-coercive, non-exploitative policy toward the various ethnic groups that inhabit the mountainous regions of their country.

These countries have seen that effective resistance to western imperialism lies in the unity of all oppressed people.

North Vietnam and the NLF follow this policy of unity in their own national struggle for liberation. Waging a people's war on a much wider and co-ordinated front than any of the Indian wars, and receiving aid from other socialist countries, have enabled the Vietnamese to defeat America's technology.

The violence of the American empire has extended into a global system, denying the humanity of the people of the world in the hundred years between the Indian wars and the present struggle in Indochina. The internationalism of the Vietnamese reflects this reality; they consider the imperialism and racism of the American state as their enemy, not the American people. The Vietnamese have fought foreign invaders for two thousand years; resistance is part of their national consciousness. American Indians, on the other hand, fought an unimagined foe. While the white man's greed was apparent to Indians, there were no native categories to understand the scope of an imperialist system constructed to satisfy this greed. In North America, rising from the devastation of the Sioux nation for the benefit of a few imperialists, has come Black Elk's vision of a reunion of all mankind. And in Indochina, imperialism daily confronts its contradiction in the Vietnamese struggle to liberate themselves through ending oppression and exploitation.

PALO ALTO: THE MARSHES
(for Mariana Richardson 1830-1891)

by Bob Hass

1.

She dreamed along the beaches of this coast.
Here where the tide rides in to desolate
The sluggish margins of the bay,
Sea grass sheens copper into distances.
Walking, I recite the hard,
Explosive names of birds:
Egret, killdeer, bittern, tern.
Dull in the wind and early morning light,
The striped shadows of the cattails
Twitch like nerves.

2.

Mud, roots, old cartridges and blood.
High overhead, the long silence of the geese.

3.

"We take no prisoners," John Fremont said
And took California for President Polk.
That was the Bear Flag War.
She watched in from the Mission San Rafael,
Named for the arcangel (the terrible one)
Who gently laid a fish across the eyes
of saintly, miserable Tobi
That he might see.

The eyes of fish. The land
Shimmers fearfully.
No arcangels here, no ghosts.
Terns rise like seafoam
from the breaking surf.

4.

Kit Carson's antique .45, blue,
New as grease. The roar
Flings up, like echoes,
Row on row of shrieking avocets.
The blood of Francisco de Haro
Runs darkly to the old ooze.

5.

The star thistles: erect, surprised.

6.

In California in the early spring
There are lemon-colored mornings
When the mist burns slowly into day.
The air stings
Like autumn, clarifies
Like pain.

7.

Well, I have dreamed this coast myself,
Dreamed Mariana since her father owned the land
where I grew up. I saw her picture once:
A wraith encased in the high-necked, black silk
Dress so taut about the bones there are hardly ripples
For the light to play in. I knew her eyes
Had watched the hills seep blue with lupine after rain,
Seen the young peppers, heavy and intent,
First with white blossoms and then the acrid fruit,
The ache of spring, its small, quick beginning
Bursts of life. Black as her hair,
The unreflecting venom of those eyes
Is an aftermath I know, like these brakish,
Russet pools a strange life feeds in
Or the old fury of land grants, maps,
And deeds of trust. A furious, dun-
Colored mallard knows my lust
And skims across the edges of the marsh
Where the dead cod surface

And their tender bellies bob.

8.

A chill tightens the skin
Around my bones. The other California
And its bitter, absent ghosts
Dance to a stillness in the air:

The Klamaths were routed and they disappeared.
Even the dust seemed stunned,
Tools on the ground, fishnets.
Fires crackled, smouldering.
No movement but the slow turning
Of the smoke, no sound but jays
Shrill in the distance and flying further off.
The flicker of lizards, dragonflies.
Beyond, the dry, flag-woves lodges
A faint, persistent slapping.
Carson found ten wagonloads
Of fresh-caught salmon, silver
In the sun. The flat eyes stared.
Gills sucked the thin, annulling air.
They flopped and shivered,
Ten wagonloads. Kit Carson
Burned the village to the ground.
They rode some twenty miles that day
And still they saw the black smoke
Smear the sky above the pines

9.

Here everything seems clear,
Firmly etched against the pale,
Smoky sky: sedge, flag, owl's clover,
Rotting wharves. A tanker lugs silver,
Bomb-shaped napalm tins toward
The port at Redwood City. Tired,
I am slow to anger, horror,
A clear thought to make again
This hard, lovely world
Or its brutal, past and present mean.
Again my eye performs

The lobotomy of description.
Again, with distant yearning,
I see the malice of her ancient eyes.

10.

The otters are gone from the bay
And I have seen five horses,
Easy in the grassy marsh,
Beside three snowy herons.

Bird cries and the unembittered sun,
Wings and the white bodies of the birds:
It is morning. The citizens are rising
To murder in their moral dreams.

OUR KEEPERS' BROTHER—THE DEBATE CONTINUES

John Mohawk

Centuries ago, according to Iroquois tradition, a man named Hiawatha, while grieving the deaths of his daughters, came upon a pond in the forest. A group of ducks, startled by his approach, lifted the water from the pond, exposing the pond bed. On the floor of the pond Hiawatha found and gathered the shells of a fresh water snail which he placed in rows on a string of deer sinew. These strings he proclaimed a means of condoling those mourning the deaths of loved ones, a custom which has persisted among Iroquois people to this day.

Tradition further relates that Hiawatha went on to join Deganawidah as co-founder of the Great Law of the Iroquois. More than a political document, the Great Law provided the Iroquois with a philosophy which directed a way of life and founded and insured the perpetuation of a social order. The Great Law created a theocratic governmental organization which derived its principles of governance from Deganawida's philosophies of man's relationship to Nature, Man, and the Creator.

The Great Law was and is an oral document. Long ago the Iroquois discovered that oral documents could be more easily recalled were the orator able to make some kind of visual association with each section of that document. To facilitate this, the Iroquois arranged the beads, which Hiawatha had used as condolence strings, in patterns, usually purple on white, made of deer sinew and strung as beaded belts. The Great Law provides that such belts shall be used as pledges of national importance (treaties) and personal pledges between individuals.

The wampum belts functioned as significant documents among the Iroquois through much of the 19th century. Then, in 1898, certain scholars persuaded the Onondagas and other members of the Six Nations to relinquish care of these belts to the safekeeping of the University of the State of New York. New York State, apparently assuming a divine right to all documents of significance, passed a law (L. 1909, Ch. 31, p. 3725-3726) which authorized the State University to procure by whatever means necessary all existing wampum belts as well as any which might be made in the future.

The wampum belts have remained in the custody of the State of New York for more than seventy years. During the 1960's, a number of traditional Iroquois expressed a desire to hear a reading of these belts. A delegation of these people petitioned Albany for a return of the belts in order that they be read in council. The request was refused. (A prominant Iroquois chief relates that when he asked to view a certain treaty belt, he was told that this belt had been somehow "lost", a statement which has led Indian people to question the safety of these belts in New York's possession.)

The Onodaga chiefs' request that the wampum belts be returned to the confederacy set in motion a debate between the chiefs of the confederacy and a number of anthropologists, most notably Dr. William N. Fenton, chairman of anthropology at the State University of New York at Albany. A letter to Governor Rockefeller dated February 23, 1970, and postmarked Norman, Oklahoma was signed by five prominant American anthropologists: Dr. William C. Sturtevant, Dr. Donald Collier, Dr. Phillip Dark, Mr. Ernest S. Dodge, and Dr. William N. Fenton. In this letter, the five anthropologists raised legalistic questions concerning the ownership of the belts, and strongly hinted that Iroquois culture is dead and the Confederacy Chiefs are merely the acculturated descendants of the Iroquois. They further state that the real value of the wampum belts lie not in their use as religious and political documents by the Iroquois, but as source material for ethnographers! Further, they question the ethic of returning art or other historical objects to a people, apparently without regard to the manner in which those objects had been obtained.[1]

Dr. William N. Fenton has been especially active in the debate surrounding possession of the wampum belts, and has on several occasions made known his opinions of the relative merits of (Iroquois) confederacy government. The following letter appeared on page 45 of the November/December 1970 issue of *Akwesasne Notes:*

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1. For a more thorough discussion of the wampum-belt issue, see *The Indian Historian*, Fall, 1970.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT ALBANY
1400 Washington Avenue
Albany, New York 12203

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Dear Mr. Gambill:

I am somewhat distressed by the apparent editorial policy of *Akwesasne Notes.* You seem to clip those articles that are favorable to the cause of Indian Rights and Red Power and to overlook those articles which are critical or which take another view. I assume my letter to the Brantford Expositor of last June falls into the latter class. If you missed it (We did, —Ed.) it includes some thoughts on what would happen if the warrior party won and displaced the elected council on the Six Nations Reserve and raised some questions about the ability of confederacies as forms of government to adapt themselves to the problems which require executive attention in a modern society.

I note with interest the letter signed by Jack A. Frisch and Robert A. Thomas of Wayne State University in the October, 1970, issue (page 35) relative to the question whether the New York State collection of wampum should be returned to the heirs of the original owners or the Onondaga chiefs. While it is true that the State of New York does recognize the Chiefs as the legitimate government of the Onondaga reservation near Syracuse, it cannot be fairly said that Onondaga is any more the capital of the Six Nations. Their decendants live on reservations, as you know, all the way from Montreal to Oklahoma.

Over half of the heirs of the Iroquois confederacy are members of the Seneca Nation which formed a constitutional government in 1848. The Senecas always numbered about half the population of the League, so this accounts for half of the original Five Nations if not the Six.

You know perhaps that after the American Revolution, an attempt was made to revive the League at Buffalo Creek for a number of years and that subsequently the people who had gone to the Grand River Country reconstituted it on their own in Canada where it endured until 1924.

In New York State, the life Chief system was retained only at Onondaga, Tonawanda, and Tuscarora; but in each of these places, commencing at 1880's, constitutional amendments were made to the original form of government which rendered them more or less democratic and provided for the election of certain officers.

Frisch and Thomas are evidently unfamiliar with these data which are published in the Carrington Report to the Eleventh Census of 1890, in 1892. Anthropologists have an obligation to read the sources before writing about people. (?? —the typist).

You may not be aware, however, that the Iroquois people made no wampum of their own, that the present belts in the New York State Museum are made entirely of clam shells of the species of *Venue mercenaria L.*, which is found on the Atlantic coast from Nova Scotia to Florida but comes inland on the Hudson River to just above New York City. There was no source of this shell available to them except through trade with their neighbors who were first the Mohican Indians and their relatives, and later, the Dutch who went into the wampum industry employing Indians. All of the beads and belts in the New York State Museum can be dated from the late 17th century to the mid-18th century. None are earlier.

Moreover, wampum does not occur in archeological sites of Iroquois town or cemetaries dating prior to 1600. Wampum then is a post-Columbian phenomenon and is as American as apple pie, the log cabin, the splint basket, and a number of similar items.

I am not at all persuaded by the kind of argument against anthropologists that appears in *Custer Died for Your Sins*; our purposes are indeed scientific. This does not mean that we are not interested in the welfare of the Indians; it means rather that continuing research and teaching are our jobs. We are not social welfare workers and we cannot be expected to be. We need not be activists.

I too believe that every society has a right to pursue its own destiny, but I do not believe that the decendants of the old Five Nations would be materially advanced by returning to them the wampum belts in the New York State Museum which were acquired by out-right purchase, by gift, and by deed of trust. Most of the belts are on permanent exhibition; they can be seen any weekday by anyone, and

those that are in the vault can be seen by arrangement with very little notice.

William N. Fenton
Research Professor
of Anthropology

The following is the reply to Dr. Fenton's letter, drafted by the Onondaga Council of Chiefs of the Iroquois Confederacy, and which appeared in the April issue of *Akwesasne Notes:*

ONONDAGA
COUNCIL OF CHIEFS
of the Iroquois Confederacy

THE SEAT OF THE SIX NATIONS–KEEPERS OF THE COUNCIL FIRE
Nedrow, New York

To all Brothers—

The time to speak has come, and we will answer a letter written to our Brother Gambill. We will answer only what concerns the Six Nations directly, and all Indians indirectly. The letter was written by William N. Fenton, research professor of anthropology at the New York State Education building in Albany where our wampums are being held. (See page 45 of December, 1970, issue).

William N. Fenton was taken under the wing of a Seneca family in Allegheny, New York, years ago. He had the good fortune to be brought into the teachings of the Long House. He acquired knowledge, but apparently did not allow his soul to be touched in its teaching of Brotherhood and Peace. It is always sad for us to lose a Brother, and it is even more so when the lost Brother turns and attacks the Great Tree of Peace that has afforded him shelter in his need.

The Tree of Peace was planted at Onondaga by the Messenger, Deganawida, and it was thus stated in our ensuing constitution that Onondaga would ever be the Central Fire, and so it is, and will remain so. It is our duty as Firekeepers of the Six Nations to continue to do so. If Dr. Fenton were as knowledgeable about our affairs as he says he is, he would understand that the White Roots of Peace reach out in the Four Directions of our Mother Earth and would eventually reach all our Brothers, no matter where they are.

Today the long leaves are green with life. The history of the Houdonosaunnee speaks for itself. The deeds of our ancestors and their love of liberty gives us an example to follow and gives us courage to follow the Great Law. We must concern ourselves with the white anthropologists that

gnaw at its roots and the source of their knowledge.

All the history books have been written by the white man, and are slanted to justify his behavior in our lands. The sin of ommission is rampant throughout the history books so that it is no fault of our White Brothers that they are kept ignorant of facts of slaughter and murder, to the winged creatures, the buffalo, and our own people. The White Man having dispensed the source of knowledge that they seek, the Anthropologist then disturbs the resting grounds of our forefathers without the slightest feeling for the people who were placed there with great ceremony, and disregarding the souls of these people entirely, they violate their graves. Are we such curiosities, are we so insensitive, or do you believe we have souls at all? Imagine the roar of indignation were the Six Nations to descend on the Arlington Cemetary to begin a systematic dig to study the soldiers as to their mode of dress and living. This is a thing we would never do because of our respect for all the dead. Forgive us for even mentioning this.

In 1842, the Compromise Treaty between the Ogden Company and our Brothers, the Cattaraugus and Allegheny Senecas, was completed. The Treaty of Compromise by which the reversionary right to the fee simple of two of their reservations had been modified. A very bad bargain for the Senecas in any manner of approach. Not all the Senecas agreed with this, and at this time, Chief Blacksnake took the dissenting people with other chiefs to Tonawanda, also taking the Seneca Council Fire with him, for the Cattaraugus and Allegheny Senecas had chosen a different form of government which paralleled that of the White Man. Also, they had embraced the White Man's religion in its many forms. And since it is our way that each person does what he wants, this is the way it was, and they walked away from our Fire. So that it is apparent that many, many winters have passed since our Brothers living in Allegheny and Cattaraugus have turned their backs upon our traditions, government, and religion, although there is a Long House on both reservations that still practices our religion and we are grateful for that. The consequence of this is that the Seneca Fire is now at Tonawanda, and has been for well over a hundred years, but there is space saved for the return of Brothers any time they wish. The leaders must renounce their present form of government and return to their traditions, government, and religion as set down for us by the Messenger of the Great

Peace.

And so we continue to answer your statements made to *Akwesasne Notes* concerning us. We must answer, lest people who have read your statement would take it for the truth and be mislead into thinking that we no longer exist. If this were true, then it would be easy for any State and the U.S. Government to retain our wampums and no longer be responsible to many and ancient agreements and treaties.

The Covenant Chain must be polished and renewed, not only for ourselves, but as a statement from the Federal Government of the United States that it has integrity, that it intends to uphold its honor. For how can a nation be embroiled in wars in faraway lands in the name of freedom, liberty, and justice, and deny the very same thing to the original peoples of this great land?

We do not know, even perhaps, that the Great League had ever died. It is great news to us and must mean that we are all ghosts. WE have to guess this is what Fenton means when he says "...an attempt to revive the league was made at Buffalo Creek..." We find it difficult to deal directly with Fenton because his tongue is not straight and he says things by inference and innuendo, rather than straight and truthful like a man. Our councils of the Six Nations are being held today, and in the same manner as the Messenger had prescribed for us. We can only tell you what is true. Also our Brothers from Canada join us as we join them in these councils. There are hereditary condoled chiefs on every reservation, and therein lies the heritage of our people.

All that we can say about your census book 1892 is that the census is not complete nor ever was, for we resent the intrusion of your long noses into our affairs.

This brings us to the wampums; this may come as a surprise to Fenton, but we have not been waiting for his opinion concerning our wampums. Indeed, we understand that he has made his reputation and living as an "Expert" on the Six Nation Houdonosaunnee. This is strange for us for there has never been an Ongweyhooway who would even think that such a person existed. Nevertheless we must warn the ears of the State that the citizens of the Six Nations look upon this man as a traitor who has betrayed a trust not given to many. We see him as an Evil Force against the Peace. We do not truly understand what motivates this man.

And the final insult is the placing of our wampums of

government, condolence, and religion with apple pie. Surely this man is insensitive to do this. A question must come to the minds of the heads of state that if they are taking advice from this man and he fails in such a basic understanding of our minds with our wampums, then how much farther in error is he when dealing with issues even more obscure and just as sensitive?

We come to the matter of anthropologists and our good friend, Vine Deloria Jr., who has come to the Long House at Onondaga. Fenton has provided examples of what we do not like in anthropologists. He has in his letter to *Akwesasne Notes* practically stated our case for us. In his ninth paragraph, he states: "We are not social welfare workers, and we cannot be expected to be. We need not be activists." Yet in the first paragraph he asked our Brother Gambill if he had not seen his letter written to the Brantford Expositer, in Ontario in which he gave *his* views and thoughts on elected councils and the original system of government of the Houdonosaunnee. He raised the question about the ability of confederacies to cope with problems of modern society that require "executive ability." We question your entire modern society. First this seems to us a letter that would make the person writing it just a little more than a "teacher": someone interested in more than just our "social welfare" and all the way in Canada would make this person at least an "activist." Now add that this person is an "anthropologist," "advisor," and "expert" on Six Nations Indians to the New York State Education Department, where the wampums are now kept, and you see that he has more than a casual interest in our affairs. It would be much better for him if we were "dead", then the cadaver could properly be studied and would not continually embarrass him by standing up and seeking justice.

As far as governments go, we prefer our own. This you cannot seem to comprehend, and we would suggest that your government, corrupted from the top to the grass roots by greed and your insatiable desire for money and wealth be polished and cleaned and set right before you attempt to foist it upon people who may prefer other things.

So you have written history books, and now refer to them when you need justification!

So you have dug up our graves and sifted our treasures among your fingers, stealing them from this dead

person, and moreover, taking the very person himself and placing him in view of unsympathetic eyes that do not understand what you have done, and then you say, "Look, No wampum!" And you use our own forefathers against us. This is a great crime against us, and we ask you to stop.

So you study our government and systems and then infer that it has died, not once in Buffalo Creek, but a second time in Six Nations, Canada, in 1924. The death of our government seems paramount in your mind. We are concerned with the life of our government as our fathers before us, and as our coming generations after us will be. We say to you—cease your onslaught against us and the Great Peace!

So you have studied the shell from which wampum is made and from the study you have concluded that the Houdonosaunnee made none. It is true that the skill of making the bead is no longer with us, yet only the ego of a man such as yourself would conclude we never made any. And further, those who did had to wait for the inspiration of Columbus to do it. The Ongwehooway did not write with pen and ink. Our records were kept in a different manner, through the wampum strings and belts, and in our minds and another way, and it is thus our constitution, or this Great Peace is recorded. To supplement this, belts and strings were added as great events passed. And so today we still have the message of Peace. In the course of certain ceremonies that are performed in the meetings of the Six Nations, the belts necessary to make these meetings complete are missing and lie in a glass case in the education building in Albany, New York, or in its vaults. They are there by duplicity, coercion, and outright thievery. Your own Supreme Court has supported our stand on this. We only tell you what is true. But this you know as well as we. The days the Great Law of Peace was recited by the Messenger it was recorded on wampum long before the trees that became the planks on Columbus' ship were even seedlings.

So you are not at all persuaded by the kind of arguments against anthropologists that Vine Deloria Jr. has set forth. Yet upon study of your letter to Gambill, we can say to you, "Look for yourself. See how you are?"

So you believe that every society has a right to pursue its own destiny. Then let it. We are not interested in what you believe. Who gave you this power to decide the fate of

the Six Nations? In ten paragraphs you have given your opinion of the life and death of us. You are an old man, not unlike Senator Anderson of New Mexico, in your zeal for the subjugation of Indian Nations. The motivations may vary: Anderson desired the timber of Blue Lake. We do not know what yours are. We do know that you have chosen to turn against the Great Tree of Peace. We can only wonder with what you as a teacher are filling the heads of your youth. Perhaps you have come to believe these things yourself.

Your quest for the destruction of the Great Peace can only lead to sickness in your guts from the bile of vindictiveness and jealousies. Let it be, so that when you meet the Creator you will not come as a crawling thing to explain your actions against something as beautiful as the Great Tree of Peace.

So we have one more message to all our Brothers. Soon we will be of one mind. It is coming to this. To keep this in the right direction you must hold fast to your lands. Do not treat, parley, or part with any part of your lands, for in Mother Earth lies our salvation and our heritage. Stretch your hands to one another for support. So: now we have finished. Onen.

The Onondaga Council of Chiefs

INDIANS/STUDENTS: UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC

Charles Brover

> *"Alas for the poor savages when exposed to the influence of these polluting examples! Unsophisticated and confiding they are easily led into every vice, and humanity weeps over the ruin thus remorselessly inflicted upon them by their European civilizers. Thrice happy are they who, inhabiting some yet undiscovered island in the midst of the ocean, have never been brought into contaminating contact with the white man."*
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> *Typee*, **Herman Melville**

The other day I participated in a demonstration in support of day care facilities at the S.U.N.Y. at Buffalo. It was also a celebration of a warm day in a cold climate, and I think a collective wish for lasting Spring. There were speeches, rock music (Janis Joplin: "Freedom's just another word for nothing left to lose."), dope, balloons, and painted faces. It was part of the spirit of the occasion that people who wore headbands and fringes as a regular part of their sign equipment painted red, orange, blue, and yellow stripes on their faces. It was a happy if small band of would-be New Left Indians.

It is more than just aesthetic preference, this disguise, this propensity for the Indian as metaphor and mask.

We went to the administration building to demand that the administration stop their arbitrary harassment of the existing day care facility, and to solidify in action our understanding of yet another way the present society is oppressive to women, in this case, particularly to those with children. It is a good and important issue. It ought to be a mass issue. It ought to be an issue in which campus workers, particularly women workers, are deeply involved and committed. If it were such a struggle, it could be won. An administrator looked down at us from his third floor window. He saw some students, many of whom were dressed up like Indians.

Political form is an extension of political content.

The form is tragedy and the American Indian is a pivitol image for the New Left's tragic politics. Tragedy has two important aspects for those who would build a progressive political movement among the people: (1) We know the end is bad before we begin, and (2) Ideology is transcendent. It is this combination of cynicism and idealism that characterizes the New Left at the present time. Of course, it also characterizes the conventional understanding of the historic relations between the Indian and the white man.

The aesthetic connections and formal affinities between students and Indians (as fact and idea) can be made glibly and easily; however, even a crude analysis of the political-economic content generating those affinities is difficult. It might be helpful to begin such an analysis with an attempt to understand nationalism as ideology and social force.

The New Left has been comfortable only with a nationalist ideology, one which provides a colonial and cultural model of U.S. society. When that model was challenged by Marxists who demanded that New Left students see workers (white as well as black) rather than students as the "primary agents for social change," the response of the New Left was to advocate "organic American radicalism." This ideological dispute surfaced in the sharpest and angriest form in the SDS split in 1969 between the Progressive Labor Party/Worker-Student Alliance forces and the Weatherman forces. The Weathermen principalized their differences with the worker-student alliance strategy and, in that famous document which named them, offered a colonial model for the U.S. and a colonial analysis for understanding U.S. imperialism. That document has been thoroughly critiqued and is nowhere that I know theoretically defended, but the theoretical thrust of the document persists among young cultural radicals and their academic friends (meteorologists?). Imperialism gets defined as an advanced industrial nation oppressing an agrarian nation. This is the old half-truth of Karl Kautsky attacked by Lenin in, *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism:*

> **Kautsky:**
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> Imperialism is a product of highly developed industrial capitalism. It consists in the striving

> of every industrial capitalist nation to bring under its control or to annex larger and larger areas of *agrarian* (Kautsky's italics) territory, irrespective of what nations inhabit those regions.
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> Lenin:
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> It is correct, but very incomplete, for politically, imperialism is, in general, a striving towards violence and reaction...The characteristic feature of imperialism is *not* industrial *but* finance capital.
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> The essence of the matter is that Kautsky detaches the politics of imperialism from its economics, speaks of annexations as being a "policy" preferred by finance capital, and opposed to it another bourgeois policy which he alleges, is possible on this very same basis of finance capital.[1]

The question of whether imperialism is a policy or a stage of capitalist development is a crucial one for the creation of a successful anti-imperialist strategy. Like Kautsky, the New Left has generally detached politics from economic development, and has opted for a definition of imperialism as a "preferred policy" which U.S. capitalism can supposedly do without. On this point the New Left analysis coincides with liberal analysis and helps account for the futile left-liberal alliances in the U.S.

The imperialist contradiction is seen by many of the most politically active students as the encounter of productive systems at different levels of development, but the understanding of that conflict is then developed at the point of cultural impact. For young U.S. radicals the process of understanding begins at home. Surrounded by a social universe of alienable commodities (including workers' labor power) produced for exchange rather than use, they perceive

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1. V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, (Peking, 1955) p. 108.

the viciousness of social relations in the commodities themselves. The simplest form of this symbolic process is described by Marx in a discussion of the "fetishistic character of commodities":

> ...the mutual relations between the producers, in which the social character of their labour affirms itself, assume the form of a social relation between the labour products.
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> • • •
>
> Thanks to this transference of qualities, the labour products become commodities, transcendental or social things which are at the same time perceptable to the senses.[1]

It is the character of commodities to symbolize commodity relations. It follows that the desire to reject commodity relations might well take the form of a rejection of commodities. A symbolic rejection of commodities (usually in favor of "nature") and by extension of commodity production is fundamental to an understanding of what appears to some to be a "cultural revolution."

The contemporary example of this symbolic rejection of commodity relations (the consumer content persists in various "spiritualist," "youth" and "drug" subcultures) began with a simple and personal rejection of the "materialism of U.S. society." The ideological content was, and continues to be, frankly idealist and individualist: "do your own thing"; the manifestation is the apparent personal transformation of the individual from consumer of commodities to producer of self (Self!). The idea of the Indian emerges when this form of symbolic rejection of commodity relations attempts to adjust to the political reality of a world in revolution against U.S. imperialism, and to the attack on bourgeois individualism. The adjustment takes the form of an apparent anomaly: collective individualism, or tribalism.

The new individualism sees all the rest of society participating in the rejected "culture" while they are "far

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1. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Everyman's Library, Eden and C. Paul Trans. (1930) p. 45.

out." The rulers of society and the ruled are viewed as "equally greedy," but without equal opportunity for economic expression of their mutual "cultural" obsession. Thus it is the process which is rejected and class antagonisms within the process are overlooked or explained away. A more sophisticated New Left position finds in workers' strikes a "*hopeless* economism."

Even that which seems least alienable; the natural world—the land, the water, the air; is discovered to be vulnerable to the destructive forces of commodity relations. The recovery of *natural* and simple social relations becomes the primary goal and sign in the process of rejection. The simpler, more "natural" commodity relations of handicraft are taken to be the recovery of "human production." A kind of utopian "collective" is needed to mediate between the actual social relations of bourgeois society and the individual rejection of them. The utopian idea of "Man in Nature" gives way to the idea of the militant community in nature. It is not surprising that the new individualism takes the American Indian for its "new noble savage."

Marx pointed out that "commodity exchange begins where community life ends,"[1] but the inversion (i.e., get back before commodity exchange) does not hold in history. The "New Nation," Yippie, and "life-style" radicals find in the American Indian an appropriate mythological basis for their varieties of utopianism. Mythological orientation locates utopia in the past. To see an ideal future in the past is not merely dreaming; it is a denial of progressive history.[2] The mythological and degenerative view of history (the continuous fragmentation of an original undifferentiated whole) provides the perspective for the new noble savage as tragic hero.

The American Indian holds the tragic vision of the New Left precisely because he becomes increasingly aware of an overwhelming and destructive reality, and meets that reality with action that "whithers on the bloody snow" but with a poetry so profound and human that it seems to

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1. ibid p. 63.
2. This does not imply a unilinear view that *all* history is progress, but rather describes the general movement away from primitive society.

transcend reality. The New Left can find in the history of relations between the white man and the Indian not only the model of imperialism with which it is most comfortable (an all-class war by an economically advanced nation against a non-white pre-capitalist one), but also a model of cultural oppression and heroic cultural defense. The terms are absolute, moral, American. It is genocide.

It is necessary to understand that for the Indian (as opposed to students) a defense of culture *is* a defense of a productive mode of existence. The tribal community is the "first pre-condition of the appropriation of the objective conditions of life,"[1] says Marx, and membership in the tribe defines the possibility of economic and social production.[2] For the Indian, cultural integrity was not only a matter of defense against conflicting ideas, or social organizations, but was also the basis for the material production of life itself. The primitive communism of the Indian is, however, romantic reaction when taken up by students as a model for political organization.

Though the material basis for the Indians' cultural defense is increasingly more tenuous, the demand for cultural separation remains as a powerful historical tradition. Consider Curly Chief's account of the Pawnee's first contacts with the Anglo-American in 1800:

> You see, my brother that the ruler has given us all that we need, the buffalo for food and clothing, the corn to eat with our dried meat; bows, arrows, knives and hoes; all the implements we need for killing meat or for cultivating ground—Now go back to the country from whence you came. We do not want your presents, and we do not want you to come into our country.[3]

And recently, the comment of Alex Chasing Hawk, a council

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1. Karl Marx, *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*, (New World 1964) p. 68.
2. Cf. *Pre-Capitalist Formations*, Chapter 1.
3. Grinnell, *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales*, in *The Indian in America's Past*, ed. Jack Forbes, (Prentice-Hall 1964) pp. 258-9.

member of the Cheyenne King Sioux, at a congressional hearing. When asked what Indians wanted, he replied: "A leave-us-alone law." But it is clear that the U.S. ruling class has not left the Indian alone and has no intention of doing so. In a recent and fat government backed study, *Indian Manpower Resources in the Southwest*, (Taylor and Conner, 1969), which investigates the problems of moving reservation Indians into "unsheltered employment" (i.e. as factory operatives off or on the reservation rather than Bureau of Indian Affairs service workers), the studiers admit: "Like other peoples the Indian is more comfortable in his traditional environment and economic incentives to enter and remain in an unsheltered labor market depend upon family assets..." It is clear that tribal structure and cultural integrity are in contradiction with the dominant mode of production. But the government is likely to take the long view with regard to "attempts to adjust away from Indian cultures" (p.353). So Taylor and Conner conclude: "No attempt should be made to move Indians off the reservations until they are able to compete for jobs on a par with other citizens." (p. 358). It is clear that traditional Indian society has been the primary defence against cultural oppression. But is is equally clear that the U.S. ruling class has a two-pronged strategy for Indians which makes use of their drive for cultural integrity: Get some off to work, but given high unemployment keep some Indians as museum pieces on the reservations and out of the labor market. In any case, the American Indian will not be left alone; terminated perhaps, but not left alone.

The American Indians' pre-capitalist productive mode and their eloquent pleas and demands for separation do not in themselves account for the interest of the New Left in the historical Indian. For it is also in the Indians' explicit consciousness of his superior humanity and spirituality that the New Left finds what seems to them to be, a kindred historical voice. For a long time Indians have known, deeply felt, and articulated the poison of bourgeois ideology and practice. Black Elk, an Oglala Sioux holy man, speaks of his encounter with white people in 1886:

> They would take everything from each other if they could, and so there were some who had more of everything than they could use,

> while crowds of people had nothing at all and maybe were starving. They had forgotten that the Earth was their mother. This could not be better than the old ways of my people.[1]

It is critical to understand that what is primarily seen here by Black Elk is the *mutual* participation of the starvers and the starving in the same culture. Another powerful and eloquent statement of cultural superiority in the face of material defeat is Black Hawk's speech at the occasion of the defeat of Sauk-Fox in Black Hawk's War in 1832:

> An Indian who is as bad as the white men, could not live in our nation; he would be put to death, and eat (sic) up by the wolves. The white men are bad school-masters; they carry false looks, and deal in false actions; they smile in the face of the poor Indian to cheat him; they shake them by the hand to gain their confidence, to make them drunk, to deceive them, and ruin our wives. We told them to leave us alone; but they followed on and beset our paths, and they coiled themselves among us like the snake. They poisoned us by their touch. We were not safe. We lived in danger... The white men do not scalp the head; but they do worse—they poison the heart.[2]

Lately the theme of separation has been articulately taken up by the Native American Movement. As might be expected given the bitter historical experience of Indians fighting Indians, and a traditional outlook that takes culture rather than economics as primary in imperialist encounter, this movement is basically cultural nationalist, struggling for Indian unity and against cultural oppression and economic discrimination. The reactionary potential of Indian nationalism might be made more clear by examining the political assumptions and positions of one of its most popular

1. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks*, in Forbes, p. 66.
2. *Lives of Celebrated Indians* (1843), in Forbes, p. 64.

and transparent adherants, Vine Deloria, in his book, *Custer Died for Your Sins*, (Avon Books 1969).

The opening sentence of Deloria's manifesto is: "Indians are like the weather." The comparison is to the unpredictability of each, but the image is natural, and while unpredictable at any instant, immutable as condition. He says: "Everyone knows all about the weather but none can change it." One gets the impression from reading *Custer Died* that Deloria feels much the same way about social systems.

He is quick to spot and reject racist, sentimentalizing myths about the childlike and/or fierce-feathered Indian, yet he is apparently prepared to accept any number of bourgeois liberal myths about social change and how to get it. For the state of Nevada he talks about "the possibility of its developing a strong Indian swing vote as it comes of age..." And yet, at the same time he has learned from his experience to be suspicious of liberal schemes and radical hustlers, who he calls "professional rebels," and the guilt cycle out of which they operate. It is interesting also that in a book whose theoretical commitment is to Indian separatism he supplies us with this observation from his experience as a kind of "military field officer" in a campaign he learns to call, The War on the Poor:

> The funny thing about this era was that one subject was absolutely forbidden (by the government). And that was any attempt to compare the white man's treatment of the Indians with that of any other minority groups...Endless hours were spent to convince us that somehow, in a way that neither we nor they understood, Indians were unique in relation to other minorities. (p. 209).

He is suspicious, correctly I think, of the "new interest in Indians," particularly of the academic variety:

> Universities that hadn't known that Indians existed outside of the textbooks charged into the forefront of social responsibility. Indian centers sprang up where previously no Indians had been allowed to loiter. Plans for massive archives, research, pilot projects, and

> developments mushroomed until we were convinced there would not be enough Indians to go around. (p. 209).

But he never offers an analysis of this "new interest." Rather he too demands to be left alone, and more:

> Cultural and economic imperialism must be relinquished. A new sense of moral values must be inculcated into the American bloodstream... It is now time to jump fully into the problem and solve it once and for all. (p. 59).

These are certainly good ideas and goals. What primarily separates revolutionaries from Utopian dreamers is that revolutionaries have a theory and a strategy for getting where they're going. Strategy is dependent on theory and analysis. When the basic paradigm for analysis is cultural, then the strategy that follows is also cultural. Change the culture—change the society. Deloria is highly critical of militancy (i.e. struggle) and particularly black militancy. He offers his strategy for change:

> "Few militants would be sophisticated enough to plan a strategy of undermining the ideological and philosophical positions of the establishment and capturing its programs for their own use." (p. 237).

> "For Indians to walk the steps of the black militants would be a disaster. The problems of Indians have always been ideological rather than social, political, or economic. Simply to invite violence upon oneself for the sake of temporary concessions seems ridiculous and stupid.
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> It would be fairly easy, however, with a sufficient number of articulate young Indians and well-organized community support, to greatly influence the thinking of the nation within a few years." (p. 251).

And separation has worked so well for the Indians, he urges the same for black people who he sees as nationally (i.e. culturally) inferior:

> "Separatism can be the means by which blacks gain time for reflection, meditation, and eventual understanding of themselves as a people.
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> The black needs time to develop his roots, to create his sacred places, to understand the mystery of himself and history to understand his own purpose. These things the Indian has and is able to maintain through his tribal life." (p. 188).

Finally he suggests, arrogantly but consistently, that black people would have done better if they were shunted off to reservations after the civil war. Deloria's strategy for social change develops out of his cultural view. He has no economic analysis of social change because he sees economics subsumed under culture. This inversion of materialist processes (social relations determine productive relations) leads him to even more extreme idealist and utopian thinking:

> There is basically nothing real about our economic system. It is neither good nor bad but neutral. Only when we place connotations on it and use it to manipulate people does it become a thing in itself. (p. 189).

How, one wonders, Marxist or not, can our capitalist economic system not "manipulate people"? Deloria talks about "white economics" because cultural nationalism pre-empts the content of conflicting economic systems. This leads to the understanding that capitalism and socialism are both "white economics." The enemy is not real (capitalists) but is only an abstract ideology. The abstractionist sees abstraction itself as the enemy:

> White culture destroys other culture because of its abstractness. As a destroyer of culture it is not a culture but a cancer. In order to keep

> the country from complete divisiveness, separatism must be accepted as means to achieve equality of personality both for groups and individuals. (p. 188).

Like Marshall McCluhan, Abbie Hoffman, and a few classicists become hippies, he asserts that, "tribalism is the strongest force in the world today." But unlike Abbie Hoffman he is a blatant apologist for monopoly capitalism. How paradoxical it seems at first that the cultural tradition of primitive communism views the future not as socialism or communism but as a kind of mythologized capitalism which Deloria calls "corporate tribalism":

> In the corporate structure, formal and informal, Indian tribalism has its greatest parallels and it is through this means that Indians believe that modern society and Indian tribes will finally reach a *cultural truce* (my italics). The corporation forms the closest attempt of the white man to socialize his individualism and become a tribal man. And certainly when one thinks back to what has been written over the last decade about corporate existence, one can see the startling parallels. (pp. 224-5).

He sees "youth culture" as an example of a tribalizing America, but more important for him is the great "cultural truce" that is developing:

> It would appear then that we are witnessing the gradual tribalization of the white man as his economic tribes become more and more oriented toward social services for their members.

> And:

> When executives can admit what they are doing, then it will be possible to form programs around those left out of corporate existence—the poor—and organize them as

> tribes also, completing the circuit from Pilgrimish individualism to corporate tribalism. (p. 227).

It is a certainty that revolutionary forces in America will not wait for executives to "admit what they are doing" and become tribesmen. Seeing U.S. society through the lens of cultural nationalism is not to see the reality of antagonistic class forces.

The most sympathetic interpretation of Deloria is that he wants to end cultural oppression through cultural war. But cultural struggle is no struggle at all if it does not also attack as its primary target, the material economic base and political apparatus of that oppressive culture. In a passage that reads more like a literary criticism of *Moby Dick* than a comment on U.S. society, we see how the mythological view not only obscures the opposition of economic interests of the starvers and the starving, but it precludes participation in the organized economic struggle of the starving—Class struggle is seen as "white." The twin enemies are abstraction and struggle:

> White has been abstracted into a magical nebulous mythology that dominates all inhabitants of our country in their attitudes toward one another. We are, consequently, all prisoners of that mythology so far as we rebel against it. It is our misfortune that our economic system reflects uncritical acceptance of the mythology and that economic movements tend to reinforce the myth. (p. 189).

Surely *Custer Died* must be one of the most negative examples of cultural nationalism. There are of course more sophisticated cultural nationalist positions that do not reach such clearly reactionary conclusions, but all cultural nationalist positions have the same basic theoretical assumption: that the contradiction between cultures is the

primary one for political organization.[1]

We must, however, be careful to distinguish the discovery of the Indian by the New Left and the Indian's discovery of himself. The American Indian (as distinguished from Mexican, Latin American and South American Indians) had never experienced class society but rather has had that society thrust upon him.[2] Indians come to their position out of their historical experience, whereas the New Left appropriates the mythological and tribal. The response of the New Left is not really untraditional if ahistorical. There is continuity in American bourgeois revolutionary ideology. Thomas Jefferson who compares black people with Oranutans is an enlightened ethnologist when discussing the American Indian.

> "...his friendships are strong and faithful to the uttermost extremity;...his sensibility is keen;...his vivacity and of mind is equal to ours in the same situation;"[3]

When it appears that the Indian is not as "civilized" as the white man,

> "The causes of this are to be found not in a

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1. More sophisticated domestic positions add the words "at this time" and stress the transitional nature of nationalism and its potential for "breaking loose" individuals who are "locked into" bourgeois culture and "spilling them over" into socialist consciousness. A shorter and easier version of the same position is known as "getting your shit together."
2. C.F. John Collier, *Indians of the Americas*, (Mentor, 1947) p. 100-1. But this does not mean that there were not divisions of labor, even towns and villages. The complicated political and social structure of the North American Indian has been generally ignored by colonials. See Wilbur R. Jacobs, "British Colonial Attitudes and Policies Toward the Indian in the American Colonies," in *Attitudes of Colonial Powers Toward the American Indian*, Howard Peckham, Charles Gibson, eds. (U. of Utah, 1969).
3. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia*, in *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Adrienne Koch and William Peden, Modern Library, 1944.

> difference of nature, but of circumstance." (p. 211).
>
> And:
>
> Before we condemn the Indians of this continent as wanting genius, we must consider that letters have not yet been introduced among them. (p. 212).

Yet the same methodology does not hold for the black race:

> It is not the foundation of a greater or lesser share of beauty in the two races? Are not the fine mixtures of red and white, the expressions of every passion by greater or less suffusions of color of the one, preferable to that eternal monotony, which reigns in the countenances that, immovable veil of black which covers the emotions of the other race? Add to these, flowing hair, a more elegant symmetry of form, their own judgment in favor of the whites, declared by their preference of them, as uniformly as is the preference of the Oran-utan for the black woman over those of his own species. (p. 256).

Jefferson's selective racism and "preference" for the Indian may be influenced not only by his position as slave owner, but also by his powerful connection to the land and his advocacy of a land based political economy. It is Paine who best illustrates the source and temper of the kind of romantic inversion that is typical of contemporary bourgeois revolutionaries:

> ...but governments being in an uncivilized state and almost continually at war, they pervert the abundance which civilized life produces to carry the uncivilized part to a greater extent.[1]

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1. Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man*, in *Thomas Paine*, Harry Hayden Clark, American Century Series, 1944.

Here of course, is the political-economic correlative to the famous noble savage of French and American literature, what Marx called "the idea of Man in Nature."

Nineteenth century America is shot through with utopian schemes and communative experiment led by Bourgeois "Socialists."[1] Most of these schemes were meant to change the whole society by the power of their good example. The notion of tribalism that has recently emerged among students and in "youth culture" (taking the Indian as its culture hero) is an outgrowth of that "organic American radicalism." But as we all know, bourgeois ideology is no longer revolutionary. Advanced industrial society is particularly distinguished for its lack of a significant peasant class.[2] And a strategy for social change which talks about going back to the land, decentralizing by "doing it," homesteading, and crypto-apocalyptic communes while it ignores or attacks the working class, is a strategy for failure which is, at its aesthetic best, tragedy. More serious however, is the selective racism inherent in such social pseudo-solutions which do not account for the millions of black workers in U.S. ghettoes. It hardly needs to be pointed out that those who presently rule the society will not permit all of us to become Indians.

The American Indian as symbol also contains what is progressive in the New Left: their desire to reject commodity relations and "rugged individualism," and their recognition that it is necessary to fight against oppression.

Finally, American Indian culture is attractive because it is attractive. It is not only an uncritical stance toward nationalism, the fantasy of nature and the romantic ideal of communal man living instinctually at spiritual and economic peace that produces this interest in Indians. It is also its truth that appeals to students. Even some scholars are coming to a similar understanding:

> The fictional Indians may in fact be less

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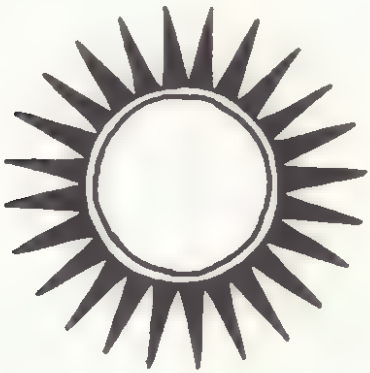
1. Most notable were Fourier associationalism, Owenism and Perfectionism. For a quick and interesting account see Albert Fried *Socialism in America* which, curiously, deals almost exclusively with the 19th century and ends the account at about 1930.
2. In the U.S. for example, manufactured products had exceeded agrarian products by 1891.

> unreal, less romanticized, than we have assumed, their virtues based on those actually possessed by the native American.[1]

It does not take an Indian "expert" to see the enormous value of Indian culture, and to reaffirm the importance of cultural diversity within the wider social struggle. It will be within that wider social struggle that the idea of a community in nature will be verified in reality. It is here that Indian culture holds wise lessons about collective living in a future worth fighting for.



1. Wilbur R. Jacobs, "British Colonial Attitudes," *Attitudes of Colonial Powers toward the American Indian, eds.* Peckam, Gibson, (Utah 1969) p. 89.

THE INDIAN MOVEMENT AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Jefferson Davis, Hal Hamilton, and John Trimbur

The purpose of this article is to present a sympathetic treatment of the Indian movement in relation to the prospects for revolution in the United States. Our analysis is both synthetic in its own right and framed as a critique of a prevailing shortsightedness on the Left.

This negative sounding board, which we orient ourselves in distinction with, represents what we feel is a hangover from nineteenth century revolutionary strategy. A sort of Left dogmatism of both the "idealism" of the student movement and the "cultural nationalism" of the Indian movement, and we feel that the underlying assumptions of this critique ultimately obscure the realities of both concrete struggles. The New Left's so-called "tragic vision" forms part of a world-view that has been the source of the largest anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist movement since the thirties. The New Left has certainly failed so far to build a mass working class movement, and it has often been guilty of utopianism and idealism. The recent emphasis on rural communes and yippie tactics can, of course, carry the danger of enclosing the New Left within its narrow base of support. The New Left is often much surer of what it is against than of what it is for, and there are unfortunate tendencies of both private retreat and mindless terrorism because of the general lack of a strategy to develop a broad-based people's movement. Nevertheless, broad sectors of the New Left are now trying to deal with these problems, both in theory and in practice, and the realization that we are all oppressed in our daily lives is moving beyond existential despair and toward a socialist attack on the quality of life in America.

But to develop an analysis of the ambiguities of the New Left is not the purpose of this first issue of *The Red Buffalo*; the purpose is rather to present the Indian cultural and political stance in contemporary America. We will argue that the Left needs to be much *more* appreciative of the Indian movement because that movement has a great potential to develop in all of us the kinds of social needs (communality, non-alienated labor, and ties with nature) that are not met in capitalist society and cannot be met by a society run by profit for the few. Capitalism rules only

secondarily by force, but primarily by its cultural/ideological hold on people's minds. Within the American consumer culture the Indian traditions are probably the most un-false conscious of any, and they can help us to shatter the mind-fetters of the dominant ideology. Only then can we struggle against capitalism with a self-consciousness about our own ends.

I. When Christopher Columbus stumbled on an island in the Caribbean inhabited by nearly naked people smoking cigars, he thought the island was off the coast of Cathay, one of the "Indies." He did not know that he had found a new world, and new people. It was not until the Magellan expedition returned to Europe in 1521 that it was finally certain that the "Indies" and "America" were not bounded by eastern Asia, and that they were continental in themselves. Within a generation, as Spain and the other European powers mounted their assaults into this "wilderness," the "Indies" and the "Indians" who inhabited them became favorite subjects for speculation in the civilized histories, philosophies, and literatures of Europe.

For centuries European writers dealt with the aboriginal Americans as anachronisms of their own common history, and, impoverished for real information, made them archetypes of their own unremembered conditions in "the state of nature," prior to man's adventure into "civilization". As Amerigo Vespucci, for whom their continents were named, noted in one of his letters to Lisbon, the natives of the "New World" were "cruel and warlike" and "ignorant of law, religion, rulers, immortality of the soul, and private property."[1] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, that great primitivist, found them equally simple and instintual— "(The savage's) desires do not exceed his physical needs, the only goods he knows in the universe are nourishment, a female, and repose; the only evils he fears are pain and hunger. ...His imagination suggests nothing to him; his heart asks nothing of him. His modest needs are so easily found at hand, and he is so far from the degree of knowledge necessary for desiring to acquire greater knowledge, that he can have neither foresight

1. Lee Eldridge Huddleston, *Origins of the American Indians*, (Austin, Texas, 1967), p. 5.

nor curiosity."

Rousseau, with a vision worthy of early Norman Mailer ("The White Negro"), sees his savage man as essentially alone, an existential hipster "without any idea of the future," without any ties to "society": "In fact," he says, "it is impossible to imagine why, in that primitive state, a man would sooner have need of another man than a monkey or a wolf of its fellow creature." (Obviously, Jean-Jacques had as little information about animals as he had about "Indians".) He thought the savages were happy, uncorrupted beasts, sexually promiscuous, "limited solely to that which is physical in love." (The oppressor spends much time fantasizing the sexuality of the oppressed.) The savages were without society, without religion (the savage mind being incapable of such metaphysics), and without agriculture—agriculture, especially cultivation of wheat, being one of the distinctions of civilization, and clearly inappropriate to the senseless child of the woods. Rousseau must have never heard of maize.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, ethnography had improved, and the Indians in North America had been killed in staggering numbers or confined to their museums and reservations. It was then possible to envision their lives somewhat more clearly. Lewis Henry Morgan, and after him Marx, did not make the egregrious errors of Vespucci or Rousseau. They had a century to learn and to develop new schemata of society. Concerned, as was Rousseau, with the evolution of human societies, they defined American aboriginal tribal culture as a phase in the evolution of human society—an evolution, however, which reached its highest peak in their own contemporary white bourgeois capitalist culture. Morgan made Rousseau's unconscious analogy explicit—he found the Iroquois tribe congruent with the Latin gens. He also made explicit another of Rousseau's assumptions—that "civilization" was created by a unilateral form of historical development. Marx read Morgan, saw the process as dialectic, but followed Morgan in his fundamental mistake; Marx made "the tribe" the first stage of "pre-capitalist economic formations," the first act in the dialectic of history toward capitalism, and communism. As a description of the historical process particular to Europe, Marx's historical analysis was accurate; as a model for understanding the "economic development" of

"American Indian" peoples, it is not much help. "Indian" people may be "precapitalist," but they think of themselves as "non-capitalist," when they relate their mode of production to capitalism at all. One might stretch a point and call them "objectively" precapitalist, but that obliges one to wait for them to develop capitalism. That would be a long and futile wait.

Now all the "Indians" have been confined on reservations and relegated to the status of "vanishing Americans"—every few years a book comes out which proves that there are no more real Indians. And someone is still building a monument to "the American Indian" near Gallup, New Mexico. The aboriginal people, who assert that they are still alive and struggling to keep the birthright of their land, their languages, and their religions to give to their children, are not infrequently accused, as Vine Deloria is often accused, of "cultural nationalism." The radical misunderstandings from which this charge arises seems to have become endemic to Anglo-European thought. Vine Deloria does not have a good class analysis of American society. But what is overlooked is that Indian "cultural nationalism" (which is neither "nationalistic" nor limited to "culture") is based on a long, brutal historical experience of white cultural imperialism, efforts by Europeans and Americans of all sorts to define and improve the lot of the "poor Indian." The ranks of these well intentioned, purblind souls have been filled with missionaries, squads of calvary, anthropologists, agricultural specialists, scores of positicians aspirant to the ruling class, industrialists and workers. While the distinction between ruling class "starvers" and working class "starved," if a little facile, is indispensible for understanding the dominant American culture, it has little historical relevance for understanding relations between that culture and native Americans. "The only good Indian is a dead Indian" is certainly ruling class ideology, but most "civilized" men have always believed it, or acted as though they did. Indian "cultural nationalism" is nothing but the assertion by Indian peoples that they wish to maintain their own tribal, non-commodity relations with one another and with the remnant earth of their reservations. In maintaining those relations they offer us models; for them to realize their wish, we will have to learn from them and struggle with them to dismantle the society whose rulers would still like to

smash the Indian peoples for contesting capitalist dominion over the earth.

II. Common political assumptions on the Left are the following: 1)Cultural nationalism of an oppressed group diverts struggle from class struggle; the Indian movement, for example, ignores the class basis of American society. 2) The working class (which seems to be defined as the industrial proletariat) is objectively anti-capitalist and only needs socialist ideology brought to it to be both objectively and subjectively anti-capitalist, but cultural nationalism hinders this process. 3)Utopianism, communalism, tribalism, cultural nationalism, and back-to-naturism divert the working-class from a unified anti-capitalist stance. 4) The above social movements, now strong in the New Left, have a tradition in middle class, bourgeois ideology and are used by the ruling class to divide and smother working class militance.

In critiquing these assumptions, our argument is dual, to present the relationship between Indian nationalism and the Left in an entirely different light and to criticize outmoded notions about the conditions for revolution in capitalist society. The possibility of revolution arises when the felt needs of people are unsatisfied to an unbearable extent, when these needs are *perceived* as unsatisfiable within the confines of existing power relations, and when they are felt to be so important as to justify the risk of destroying the present order and erecting a new one. Marx saw the industrial proletariat, a growing majority in late-nineteenth century England, as the revolutionary class within capitalism for the following reasons: 1) the proletariat was experiencing a severe threat to its minimal standard of living, its traditions of craftmanship and communal solidarity, and its historically potential control over the process of production by an irrational economic system that operated exclusively in the interests of a small ruling class; 2) the industrial proletariat was increasingly self-conscious of the incompatibility between the technological potential of satisfying its basic needs and the rule of an anarchic and surplus-value extracting economic system, and 3) the proletariat was so alienated from the cultural, political, and ideological legitimacy upon which any power structure ultimately depends that they saw themselves as having nothing to lose and everything to gain from revolution.

There is a common tendency on the Left to uncritically apply Marx's and Lenin's concrete theories of specific historical realities to America today, a quite different society. The point has been made many times, but we must reiterate: Marxism should be a philosophical/scientific methodology which offers a general ground on which analysis of capitalist society rests; it should never be construed as a mechanistic model fitting that society at all historical stages. To be more concrete, "vulgar Marxist" assumptions about contemporary society reveal a confusion about the felt social needs that are unmet in late-twentieth century capitalist society. We agree that class division must be the basis of any Marxist critique, but we disagree in our analysis of the way class structure and revolutionary consciousness manifest themselves in contemporary society. Some Left Factions seem to assume that the industrial proletariat is still the objectively most revolutionary sector of the work force, even though blue-collar workers from a declining minority of the labor force, and, more importantly, most blue-collar workers do not presently identify their pressing material needs as unable to be satisfied within the existing order. (They may someday soon, but at present the subjectively most revolutionary sectors of the population lie elsewhere.)

Capitalism since Marx's day has changed profoundly: it has mollified economic chaos through imperialism, centralization, monopoly, war, and state supervision of the economy. But capitalism has been so far not only able to avoid the worst in the sphere of economic irrationality, capitalism has also shown the capacity to effectively harness the ideological-cultural-political superstructure to legitimate itself as a total system in the *minds* of the people. Many working class people (and we use this category to include the majority of the white and blue-collar work force) know that they're getting fucked-over, but this consciousness can only be revolutionary if they perceive their needs as fundamentally antithetical to the performance of capitalism. Capitalism has shown such lasting-power precisely because it has succeeded in identifying PROGRESS as both what we all want and what capitalism is most successful at delivering. Both our repressive division of labor and our culture of consumerism locate "the good life" as meaning the private accumulation of goods, and if people identify their oppression as not participating in "the good life," as not

having enough goods, then how can this evolve into an anti-capitalist critique? What system has based its ideology more successfully on material prosperity than American capitalism?

We argue, therefore, that, while the New Left has certainly failed to expand into a broad people's movement, it should be pointed out that the Old Left has also failed. The New Left discovered the working class a couple of years ago and quickly latched on to a "working class perspective" similar to that which has been used by the Old Left for a long time. This "working class perspective" means to orient the socialist movement in such a way that the "working class" (variously defined) will perceive a socialist revolution to be in its own interests. But dominant throughout the Left has been an assumption that the way to bring socialism to the working class is by convincing them that socialism would be economically more rational, would raise their standard of living, and would end profit. The anti-war movement has always based any appeals to the working class on the war's economic ill-effects on the home economy.

But what this narrow appeal echoes are not the anti-capitalist needs of the working class—it echoes rather the very definition of working class needs that capitalist ideology projects. Capitalism proclaims its success in exactly the same terms that the Old Left identifies capitalism's failures: economic PROGRESS. The average standard of living has risen steadily over the last century, and bourgeois ideology has so far repelled every socialist attack on its economic rationality. In fact, capitalism has been able to appear to desire the exact same ends as working class militants—the proletariat wants regular employment, better working conditions, and high wages, and the bourgeoisie wants expanded production and high purchasing power. The trade unions have become locked into bourgeois ideology, therefore, not only (or primarily) because of their bureaucratic sclerosis, but rather because of their channeling of all needs into a mold shaped by the ideology of capital. Monopoly capital needs consumers above all else and has so far been able to adapt and expand by increasing the flow of profit-making goods as far as each situation admits.

It should be resoundingly stressed that we are not arguing that the poor are really well off or that capitalism is a rational system. We are arguing rather that the Left's

traditional approach to the working class has been trapped within the self-definitions of capitalism itself (economic PROGRESS) and has therefore closed itself off from a truly revolutionary attack on capitalist society. The "anti-nationalism" critique of the relationship between the new left and the Indian movement is an example of such premature closure. The doctrinaire left attack on the autonomous woman's movement represents exactly the same phenomenon. The Indian movement, the woman's movement, the Chicano movement, and the black movement all to varying degrees escape capitalism's self-definition, and consequently they all seriously threaten the hegemony of bourgeois ideology. These movements do not limit their demands to sharing in economic prosperity (although that is certainly one demand), and their militance is occasionally diluted precisely to the extent that they do make this error. If women, for example, had left off with their demands for economic equality through equality in the job market, their movement would still be locked into N.O.W., (National Organization of Women), a completely liberal group. As it is, women have in fact challenged some of the most basic foundations of capitalist society by taking up the structure of power relations throughout the total institutional structure: the factory, the office, the schools, the media, the family, and the various social services such as medicine. Woman's liberation has been attacked by the certain groups on the Left for dividing "the people's movement" just as the Indian movement is similarly attacked, but this "people's movement" at present seems illusive when compared with the concrete reality of struggles that are now going on.

III. One of the lessons of the women's movement, and one that is based on its autonomy and cultural focus, is the manner in which women have come to identify personal problems as not merely personal, but as rooted in a social system that requires the oppression of women for its continuing existence. This practice of consciousness raising cuts through cultural hegemony in a number of crucial ways: it breaks down the isolation and privatism that capitalism imposes and redefines individual fulfillment not as private consumption, but as the fulfillment of social needs—health care, day care centers, an end to sexism, etc; women come to recognize that these needs cannot be satisfied within the

given order, and in the process of struggle they develop radically new forms of collectivity based on shared needs. This, we must note, is not a sham solidarity or a rationalization for a new "collective individualism," it is a true expression of a group in conflict with the dominant order. The randomness of individual lives and their personal problems is transformed into a revolutionary alternative, a collective body in struggle. Only when it is expressed by women's struggle, as all struggle which arises from strongly felt needs, is a social process through which confrontation leads, on one hand, to a clearer understanding of the material conditions of American wealth and power, its contradictions, and, on the other, to a deeper understanding of the kind of society we will create and the forms of struggle that can be successful.

The self-consciousness of the women's movement shows us how a critical awareness of inter-personal problems can lead toward changing people from passive objects of their history into self-directing political agents. The Mother-country-colony model of social change current in some sectors on the Left, on the basis of which guilt-ridden white radicals attach themselves to the struggles of Blacks, workers, or Vietnamese, has the tendency to render the New Left a spectator, waiting for a revolutionary *deus ex machina* to descend on America and provide an external outlet and excuse for our own revolutionary energies. We believe, however, that it is up to the New Left to bring its own history, including all of our personal life histories, into focus as a way to become more conscious about the ends of our political struggle. The felt needs of students, for example, and we would be the first to admit that they have a middle-class basis, need not be a source of guilt or repudiation if they are seen as corresponding to the social needs of large groups of Americans. There are certainly weaknesses to any limited approach—to moralize about America's "crass materialism" is only individual self-righteousness—but understanding how consumption is necessary for the functioning of American capitalism, and how competition for goods comes between people, is the beginning of an attack on the class basis of American society, and an origin of the realization that the future we want must eliminate this source of exploitation and oppression.

Through the diverse struggles of different sectors of

the population, we become aware that American capitalism and its system of wealth and power unites the New Left with other groups—blacks, Chicanos, Indians, white workers, and women—that daily feel the brunt of oppression. We realize at the same time, however, that, as we pointed out above, the historical situation of struggle is not that of the 19th century of which Marx wrote, of a homogenized proletariat confronting the ruling class. The working class itself is more diversified; capitalism's increasingly fragmented division of labor, by dividing the working class into white and blue-collar workers, and by ranking people on a hierarchy of status, has contributed to modulating and containing worker-capital conflict and isolating the working class from the means of production. To insist on an Old Left-style mass movement, is to proclaim a hollow unity and obscure real political differences between different groups in the working class; the critical perspectives of blacks, Chicanos, Indians, and women—groups either marginal or excluded from wage labor because of racism and sexism—can then be seen as secondary or can be excluded within the Left itself.

Further, we believe that homogenizing diverse revolutionary energies into a centralized movement jeoparidizes and compromises the course of potential revolution. For a revolution to be alert to the possible formation of a new class of technocrats, and to be committed to production truly controlled by the people, the revolutionary process must be on-going internally. It must resist centralization at all costs. An alternate society—"the new society in the shell of the old," as the Wobblies put it—is not a rhetorical slogan or a Utopian luxury, but describes the process by which revolutions develop new institutions and new human relationships to break out of the old order and work actively for the formation of the new.

The point is not an automatic formula of "change the culture, change the society". The task of the Left, we think, is to discover ways to relate concrete struggle to the various critical and progressive forces that challenge the cultural hegemony of capitalism. Just as the women's movement raises profound questions about basic human relationships and identifies social needs that can only be fullfilled through the revolutionary transformation of society, so does the Indian movement raise critical issues that we would ignore at our own folly.

The Indian movement, as the articles by John Mohawk and the interview with Rarihokwats indicate, is deeply concerned with the environmental disaster we are living in. The Left has recently begun to pay attention to environmental questions, but this attention has usually been confined to critiques, although necessary ones, of liberal ecologists like Paul Ehrlich. Ehrlich focuses on the so-called "population bomb" to the exclusion of social forces that have generated population increases; "management" of population means preserving America's high standard of living in the face of world poverty. To say, as has been said many times by radicals, that environmental problems require radical solutions, and that such solutions will not be found in a capitalist system, is indeed true, but we need a deeper understanding of the relation between nature and culture and how man's labor can be situated in social forms that will develop a consciousness of social needs and a respect for the Earth.

The Left must develop a much more critical analysis of American capitalism's exploitation of the natural world. Not surprisingly, monopoly capitalism began its consolidation at the same time the conservation movement was beginning. In the fifty years following the Civil War, while the capitalist economy was centralizing, the same liberal reform was shaping the scientific disciplines of geology, hydrology, soil science, forestry, and other related fields sponsored by the federal government. John Wesley Powell, a patron saint of the conservation movement, led the nation-wide effort to map and survey the United States, codifying the information about what are now called "natural resources." This abstraction of nature into quantifiable units provided precisely the information required by America's industries long-range planning. The regulatory agencies, as has been shown by radical historians, were established to manage the nation's resources. They contributed to rationalizing the workings of capitalism by, on one hand, regularizing information about and access to resources, and, on the other, minimizing competition by setting standards favorable to monopolistic corporations.

The very notion "natural resources" is of the raw stuff that technocrats love to manipulate: inert, static forms cut off from their organic processes. Even the national parks and wilderness areas—positive achievements of the

conservationists—reflect this notion, if from the other side of the coin, as tracts of land are set aside and virtually "frozen" in their natural state to provide recreation areas. Most ecologists are trapped in this relation to the natural world, substituting "expertise'. in managing nature for direct experience of how human labor can fit into the larger economy of nature.

The issue is clearly that of struggling with an alienation from nature that is inseparable from alienation from the means of production and the sources of our labor. This is something which we wish segments of what is known as the cultural revolution would relate to more directly and consciously. Romanticizing nature in response to urban horror is understandable, but somehow facile and incomplete. Organic gardening, for example, is an important body of knowledge and practice, but has a tendency to become an objet d'art, with prices of organically grown fruit and vegetables on the level of minor works of art. The dream of subsistence farming, increasingly popular, too misses the point and only withdraws from the nastiness of American exchange rather than attacking it. What we need are new forms of exchange that serve the people. The growing ecological consciousness that criticizes the dominant modes of production and consumption too often makes nature merely an object of contemplation. This mystification that holds unspoiled nature as a redemption symbol in the face of civilization, seen as hopelessly avaricious and destructive, makes nature into art and finally substitutes art—the primieval landscape—for life and all its social complications.

The Indian movement holds important clues to the development of a social life within the complex web of nature. Many Indians are re-discovering their ties with the land and its creatures, and they are keeping alive the cultural traditions of collective forms of social organization, non-competitive craftmanship in a redistributive economy, and the strict subservience of institutions to the social needs which bred them. Because American Indians have resisted assimilation into the dominant order, the locus of Indian tradition is outside the hegemony of capitalism and bourgeois ideology. The tribal forms Indians are trying to revive are based on collective control of the means of production and a labor process in which people's products are created for the community, rather than for the profit and purposes of a

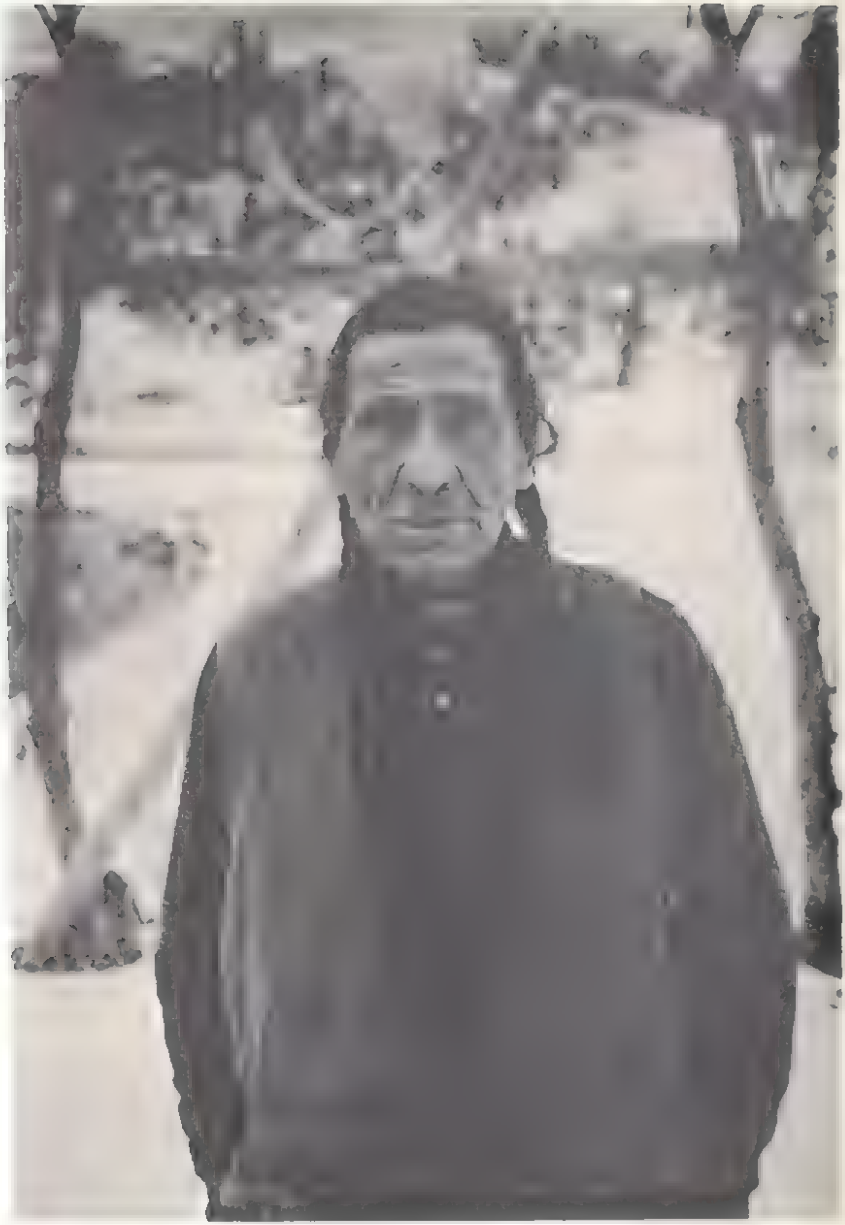
ruling class.

It is important to remember that one hundred years after the last Indian war, the Indian people are still in conflict with American capitalism. The fishing rights issue in the state of Washington illustrates this clearly. Local Indians are demanding their age-old right to live on salmon from the rivers. Indians have been fishing for thousands of years, and there are still plenty of salmon, but now both the salmon and the Indians are threatened by commercial fishing companies and, more importantly, endangered by the pollution of waterways by industrial operations. Indian production to fulfill social needs is threatened by American capitalism's production for profit.

The struggles of the Indian movement expose the irrationality of a capitalist system that is destroying and depleting the material conditions of wealth, for the benefit of a small ruling class. The development of the Indian movement is antithetical to capitalism because it insists on production for social use and identifies social needs as inseparable from the well being of the environment.

The outlook of certain factions on the Left misses the importance of this kind of insight from a movement unincorporated into capitalism's cultural hegomony. To learn from the Indian movement does not require a utopian "return to nature". However tempting this may seem at times, it is ruled out by our own concrete history. A strong anti-technologism is also doomed to irrelevance; technology can be liberating as well as destructive. What the Indian movement can teach us is that collective ownership of the means of production and of the state, to be truly revolutionary, will entail much more than ownership in a legalistic sense. It will have to be very literally collective, necessitating a labor process controlled from the bottom up, radical decentralization, cultural self-determination, and communal institutions. Our relationship with nature will have to be very different from that current in existing state-socialist regimes.

The Indian movement certainly doesn't provide the Left with a mass movement—nobody claims that it does—but it does give the mass movement that will arise from the working class itself a valuable tradition to learn from, and, more immediately, concrete historical struggles that the Left must see as part of its struggle against capitalism, racism, and imperialism.



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WELCOME
MISSION
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MISSIONARIES AND PROGRESS

John Mohawk

American anthropologists have devoted an amazing amount of time compiling data relating to what they have chosen to call "mythologies." Invariably a "mythology" is seen as a story told by a "primitive" people, and "primitive" is defined as practically any society of which the anthropologist is not part. American mythology is said to consist of stories of Paul Bunyan or John Henry, quaint pieces of Americana of another era and told only to children. The implication is that, unlike the Ancient Greek or the American Indian, Twentieth Century America has no standard mythology, no set of biased stories relating to the origin of its peoples or its way of life. The story of America, it is believed, is written down in detail by scholars, men of great professional integrity, and is to be found in history books, not mythologies.

American history, recorded by scholars has produced a vast array of interpretational distortions. Indeed, America's version of American history is mythology, and one which appears to be falling under the critical eye of a generation of its own youth. It is a mythology which traces its origins to the Near East, the Mediterranean, and Southern Europe. The American Indian and other non-Western peoples throughout the world have come to call this mythology the White Man's tradition, but few of these so-called Third World peoples have been bold enough to recall the workings of that tradition, the historical nuances of the White Man's way.

European peoples first came to North America seeking religious freedom. Religion had played an overwhelming role in the history of Europe prior to the early migrations to North America. Popes had established spiritual and political empires as the consequence of their claim as Vicars of Christ; kings had established absolute dictatorships based on their concept of "divine right," and wars of extermination had regularly been waged by one people upon another for theological imperfections. Whole crusades of territorial aggrandizement were waged in the name of religion, and almost every war waged from the time of Charlemagne to the time of Columbus was waged with both sides claiming a superior knowledge of the "True God." European tradition had developed religion into a political

tool by which practically everyone rationalized their ambitions.

Europeans, however, brought more than merely new concepts of religion to North America. In Pre-Columbian Europe (before the rise of nationalism) land represented wealth, and wealth was measured in gold. European armies were traditionally mercenaries who fought primarily for money rather than for a cause; gold represented political power. A man in Europe was (and is) honored for his wealth (i.e. power), and as kings and churches became wealthy, they became powerful. Thus to the European mind, the concepts of wealth, power, and religion became fused into one: if a group could control one of these factors, the other two factors could also be controlled. Church and state were never philosophically divided, and the religious hierarchy gave its blessings to the power of the state. Greed, it might be said, became a religion.

The English-speaking people who arrived on this continent began very early to assert evangelism as the aim of their colonial policy; the "conversion of the Indian" became the rationalization for colonial policy. Every culture and age produces some individuals whose personalities are susceptible to dogmas, and Western Civilization is especially well equipped to cater to such individuals. Hierarchies and authority symbols have been the trademarks of the culture, as evidenced by educational institutions designed for the socialization of a group of people who had been tested and had proven most receptive to the prevailing dogmas: the priesthood.

The missionary zeal of these people, combined with the Puritan ethic of purification of the soul through hard work produced a culture which had as its aim the domination of the earth. Individuals who worked hard, thus conforming to this ethic, could be identified by their wealth and power. The refinement of the culture was assured by the evolution of "educational institutions" designed to instill a sense of discipline and to reward hard work. (Schools in the 20th Century became training centers where the most malleable individuals were screened and marked for success.) Missionaries did not come to North America to teach the gospel of Christ. They came instead as vicars of their own value system, and that system of ethics was designed to dominate, not to educate.

The priesthood and other missionaries were well-suited to the assignment as the vanguard of Western Civilization. They were dedicated not to the principles of love and brotherhood which they preached, but to the spiritual and political subjugation of the people of other races and cultures which they encountered. These missionaries were people who were emotionally and intellectually incapable of viewing others even slightly different from themselves as human, and who remained largely ignorant of the Indian peoples whom they encountered. Often they expressed the sentiment that God would be better served if certain cultural or ethnic groups were exterminated rather than allowed to "live in sin." The effects of their efforts upon Third World peoples has been devastating. Missionaries on reservations throughout the United States and Canada spread their teachings to peoples for whom they envision no better role than "flocks of sheep," and they embed in these people a false sense of inferiority. Their activities have resulted in serious problems among Native Americans.

Imagine for a moment that you are visiting a foreign country, and you witness a scene wherein a fellow countryman is brutally beaten for reasons relating to his nationality, while others of your nation stand idly by or perhaps even take part in the activity. It would be understandable to conclude from this experience that something is very amiss in the minds of your own countrymen, and you might conclude that their consciousness of who they are had been seriously deteriorated by a series of experiences which warrant investigation. This is the plight of a great many American Indians today. Indians have been railroaded in courts in the state of Washington, they have been clubbed and tear-gassed in California, and they have been machinegunned and poisoned in Brazil while other Indians have stood by seemingly unconcerned. The causes of this lie in the past experiences of Indians, chiefly in their experiences with Christianity and education. If many Indians are victims of an "identity crisis," this is the result of teachings of Churches. teachings which induce Indians to reject the earth as their mother and to accept the priest as their father. It is the result too, of an educational system which teaches that Indians were savages, and that White nations liberated North America so that its economic potential might be developed. This is a

process which threatens to destroy the Indians as a people and has created a significant amount of cultural schizophrenia. It has also produced the greatest single obstacle to the unification of Indians for social change.

Still, the missionaries keep arriving. America's religion has changed somewhat and, while the energy of the 18th and 19th centuries was directed at making the world safe for a peculiar brand of God's gospel, the 20th Century has seen efforts to keep the world safe for a peculiar brand of "democracy." Today's missionaries preach "democracy" with the same zeal with which their forebearers preached Christianity, and they brand anyone who criticizes their democracy as a heretic (i.e. "Fascist" or "Communist.") "Democracy," as practiced by the Western World, is designed to insure that vested interest groups assert power far beyond their numerical ability to do so. Thus the advent of so-called "democratic" governments on Indian reservations has had the effect of raising to political power individuals who have used that power to gain personal economic ends. The entire concept seems to insist that there is the greatest social good to a system whereby individuals benefit materially, regardless of the effects to the community as a whole. Some reservations are now operated as corporations and, as in all corporations, decisions are made which reflect the intersts of the decision makers. Attorneys (who are White authority symbols) practically dictate economic policy to councils who appoint and appropriate salaries for those individuals who are in favor. Office of Economic Opportunity (O.E.O.) and Bureau of Indian Affairs (B.I.A.) officials, who themselves represent private interests, oversee so-called "improvement" projects which never benefit the people as a people but merely individuals as individuals. It is the White Man's way and has resulted in councils which automatically accept the "advice" of U.S. government hirelings, whose job is to destroy once and for all the profound nationhood of Indian nations.

How different this is from the Indian way in which chiefs are selected on the basis of ability and on the basis of their performance as good men! There persists among many Indians the tradition of the good chief, a man who can not be swayed by ambitions for wealth, and who wishes rather to gain honor and respect from a people who believe that his decisions consistently reflect the best interests of all the

people, especially those of the unborn generations. Historically, were a man raised to such a position who did not live up to these expectations, he could be summarily deposed! The fact that with too many Indian nations the tribal governmental systems have not survived intact, is an indication not that the Indian system is inadequate, but that in former times Indians did not understand the workings of the civilization which came to dominate them. Today, however, many Indians are aware of the factors which have come to influence their lives and are prepared to deal with these factors intelligently.

One of those factors which must be dealt with is the concept, brought to reservations, as it was brought before to North America, by the White Man, of "progress." On some reservations, political parties vie with each other in a contest to see which can project the most "progressive" image. Progress is supposed to lead to some sort of betterment. The U.S. government invariably interprets this to mean material betterment, which usually results in the material betterment of some individual or group of individuals. Often those individuals who receive the most benefit are non-Indians. Contractors reap huge profits from so-called "Indian" construction projects, leading one to suspect the motives behind the government's refusal to allow *per capita* settlements whenever the government steals Indian land.

What is progress to the Indian? Is the Indian progressing when he indicates, through his tribal councils' demands for more OEO development money, that the Indian wants factories and has become greedy for money like the White Man? Is it progress to send Indian children to Christian colleges, knowing full well that only a small percentage will ever return to the reservation and that those who return will do so as agents to implement government policy?

Perhaps Indians should turn their minds toward progress in a different direction. Constant contact with Western peoples has had a great influence on Indians, and Indians should recognize what that influence has meant and move to deal with it. Many Indians have come to accept the White Man's way of individual competition and community exploitation along with the White Man's assumption that the only betterment is material betterment. Indians have come to accept this because it is efficient, but it is this same efficiency which pollutes lakes and rivers and people. Most Indians

should have learned by this time that material possessions are largely meaningless, and that those things which are meaningful are lakes and streams and people.

Indian people must learn also to reject the legalisms of the White Man's world. A legalism is the White Man's mechanism whereby blind authority is exerted in the name of some irrelevant or autonomous entity. The rules which state that Indian languages cannot be taught in schools because no potential teacher possesses a B.S. degree in that language are legalistic. Legalistic mentality also demands that "qualified" authorities must assert unquestioned control over such things as education and housing and even governance, and that because of their supposed "expertise" in those areas, they are not subject to public accountability. Such authoritarian roles are embodied within the charters and constitutions which give individuals and groups of individuals absolute control of policy and decision-making which effect other peoples' lives.

Finally, Indians must cease to view themselves as pupils and begin to view themselves as teachers. Western civilization appears to have set in motion machinery which may result in its own destruction from natural causes. The Indian possesses what are probably the only viable means of survival in North America in the event of ecological disaster, and Indian culture presents a model of the lifestyle necessary for such survival. The Indian way of life provides an improved alternative to the Western lifestyle. Indians must move to return to their traditional ways of life and to restore their nations. Indians must unite spiritually and politically with other Indians across the continent to accomplish this, and the move must be made now!

"INDIAN" MOVIES

John Trimbur and Kyle Steenland

I. In search of art and profits, American filmakers and the American film industry have recently turned to "Indian" movies, movies that attempt to reverse the traditional Hollywood view of Indians as evil, cunning savages who treacherously refused the generous and disinterested help offered by white civilization. Clearly the industry has recognized the appeal of this reversal to the white middle-class moviegoing audience. Movies like "Little Big Man," "Man Called Horse," and "Tell Them Willy Boy is Here," are obviously an improvement over such traditional American films as "Stagecoach," or for that matter, "The Lone Ranger." However, the search for honesty and historical accuracy is blunted by the inability of the industry to profoundly confront America's mythologies.

Making the Indians into heroes and reversing the traditional good-guy bad-guy roles do not clarify the conflict between the two cultures. These movies fail to break with the traditional mythology of the American West as the stage where larger-than-life heroes and demi-gods act out the romantic ideals the tradition demands. Though the camera's focus has shifted from the white conqueror to the Indian victim and his suffering and nobility, we are not shown that what is at stake is the geo-political claims of the American empire and the future of capitalism in North America. The new "Indian" movie recognizes that a certain moral failure is inherent in this conflict, but represents it as a tragedy for which the audience feels a vague, undefined guilt.

Such renditions of "national guilt" serve only to obscure our past by dishing up its violence and carnage without explaining the system that led to these horrors and inhumanities. The viewer's genuinely felt moral concern cannot, at least through these movies, pierce through to the sources of moral failure, and the tragic past takes on an inevitability which reinforces the viewer's passivity and fatalism. In a fit of self-destruction the guilt is directed inward as we are all identified with the crimes of the past. This anguished national self-examination, fed by the half-truths of the new "Indian" movies, cannot substitute, as it is made to do by America's business and government leaders, for radical social action that can come to grips with

the conflicts of the past and deal with their persistent patterns in the present.

II. There has always been an undercurrent of sympathy towards Indians in American films. Movies like "Broken Arrow" (1950), "Apache, Attack" (1953) through "Cheyenne Autumn" (John Ford 1964) show Indians as good guys betrayed by conniving bureaucrats and greedy miners and cattlemen. These movies have much in common with "Tell Them Willie Boy is Here," but also with any western. Most westerns rely on a pattern of moral simplicity of the good guy fighting forces which are stacked against him. The good guy has only himself to rely on; it is up to him to find the courage and initiative to attain a final moral victory in the face of overwhelming odds. In the mountains and on the desert or prairie, preferably photographed in the gorgeous sunset tones of technicolor, the good guy is the apotheosis of America's self-made man.

Indians as good guys become the same kind of individualistic heroes as Alan Ladd in "Shane" or Gary Cooper in "High Noon." They become stars of movies with the same dramatic formula—like Geronimo in "Apache, Attack" or "Willie Boy." The individualistic hero makes it impossible to deal with cultures in conflict, like the Indian people in conflict with a civilization stealing their land and lives. In fact, the ideology of individualism obscures this history. Geronimo represents his people against the whites; his life is inseparable from the collective life of the Chiricahua Apaches. He is not an individual trying to find his identity or make a life for himself, cut off from his tribe and its history. The star system Hollywood needs for good box-office reinforces the American ideology of individualism and cannot portray groups in conflict, be they races, classes, or sexes.

All the movies under consideration are examples of the star system. "A Man Called Horse" has Richard Harris as the hero and, as a movie trying to show Indians accurately and sympathetically, still sees the white man as the most important figure and the focus of our emotional sympathy. In the end the movie glorifies the white man's mind; the white man not only survives but becomes the best Indian in the tribe, finally leaving with the adulation of his former captors. The movie billed as the first Hollywood movie to

portray Indians accurately (down to the last ethnographic detail) ends as a homage to Western intellect.

In "Willy Boy," Robert Blake (the Indian) is the hero, but he exists in a white man's world exemplifying white man's values. You might as well be watching "Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid" (and in fact you have the same stars, Katherine Ross and Robert Redford.)

The ambition of "Little Big Man" is to be more than a remake of the stereotyped Hollywood western. The director, Arthur Penn, sets out in an attempt to come to grips with the American history and mythology of the Battle of the Little Big Horn, Custer's last stand. The history is accurate inasmuch as it depicts Custer as an egotistical fool whose racism led him to discount totally the fighting ability of the Sioux. The movie attempts to replace the good-guy bad-guy mythology with a picture of Indian life and culture that shows Indians coming from a distinct culture and yet one that can be understood. Penn's direction of Chief Dan George as a Cheyenne chief is a serious attempt to make Indian values and wisdom accessible. In this sense "Little Big Man" represents a qualitative improvement over most movies about Indians.

Moreover, the movie treats cultures in conflict more seriously than previous movies. Penn tries to make a movie about genocide. However, the tone of the movie is surreal; Penn finds history too insane to be depicted with documentary realism. The attempt to make art more real than life causes the movie to fail. The humor Penn uses to string the movie together finally is not funny. Dustin Hoffman, the white man, is still the star. The massacre of Indians is dulled and recedes into the background.

In Penn's earlier movies—"Left-handed Gun," "Bonnie and Clyde," and "Alice's Restaurant"—he dealt successfully with gunfighters, outlaws, hippies, and others on the fringe of American mainstream. Penn was able in these films to separate the real people from our cultural myths and give the appearance that he had found the real Billy the Kid or Clyde Barrow behind their images in the media, the ballads, and the popular press. Because the cultural myths were isolated from the lives they were supposed to depict, the myths themselves seemed like hollow forms. In this way, Penn could display them as artifacts and ultimately explode them.

In "Little Big Man," however, dealing with the myths of another culture, Penn's manipulation of images is not as sure-handed. His use of Indian myth gets no deeper than the level of rhetorical slogans. That the "human beings"—the Cheyennes believed that all the things of the world were alive, while the white man believed them all to be dead is a fine critical comparison of the two cultures, but Penn cannot see that such beliefs are rooted in the concrete social life of the Indians. So, when Chief Dan George goes to the mountain top and delivers his magnificent death speech and lays down to die, Penn cannot relate this as an Indian's way of dealing with the natural event of death, but he undercuts the scene by turning it into a joke. The Indian rituals expressing the continuity of life and death were sources of power and understanding for the individual, but Penn represents them as fantastic superstitions, deals with them humorously, and his Indians finally are nothing more than fantasies.

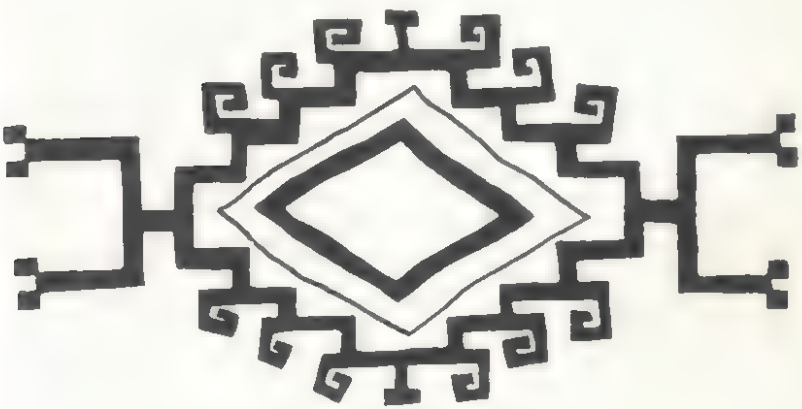
The historical facts by themselves rather than Penn's essay in absurdity would be more valuable. The luxury of portraying Custer as merely crazy rather than an extreme agent of an imperial policy is that of the oppressor. Penn fails to represent the Battle of the Little Big Horn as the people's war it was, where the largest number of Plains Indians ever gathered fought patriotically in defense of their land and way of life.

III. What is the difference between films by the oppressed and films by the oppressor? What could a movie by or about American Indians (and myths about Indians) be like; Hollywood films, that is, more sophisticated ones which do not glorify the past like John Wayne movies, teach us that the past is an unavoidable tragedy necessary for progress and a better standard of living; life in the future becomes restricted to the patterns of the past. Films by the oppressed show us that the present is bound by the past and tell us how the future can be different. Films by the oppressor applaud individual heroes, cut off from their cultures and their history, while films by the oppressed show the possibilities and necessity of collective struggle. Films by the oppressor are ultimately pessimistic, showing people caught by forces they cannot understand, unable to take effective social action. Films by the oppressed are ultimately optimistic:

Algerians breaking into rebellion once again, despite the destruction of the previous revolutionary organization, as in the final scene of "The Battle of Algiers."

Movies of the oppressed are not well known due to the control of distribution by the oppressor, so that the movies that come to mind are obscure, such as "Salt of the Earth" (from America), "Ramparts of Clay" (from Tunisia), and "Hour of the Furnaces" (from Argentina). "Salt of the Earth", for example, was banned for fifteen years, 1950-1965, and its director blacklisted and finally jailed for a year by McCarthyism. (Biberman vs. HUAC).

It is clear that so far no movies exist which reflect accurately Indian history or culture, and it is difficult therefore to imagine what such a movie would be like. The problem, however, is only partly an artistic one. Obviously such a film would have to reconstruct the actual historical facts, and , in its tone and style, reflect Indian values. But ultimately for such a movie to be made would require a fundamental change in the present film industry and its system of distribution. Financial power in Hollywood is concentrated in large corporate conglomerates who are not about to challenge the ideology or history of American capitalism. Until the film industry, and all media for that matter, is made accessible to all the people, we will continue to receive the half-truths and outright deceptions that justify the privileges of the few who make the movies.



Black Elk Speaks, as told through John Neihardt, (Lincoln, Nebraska, University of Nebraska Press, 1961), 280 pp.

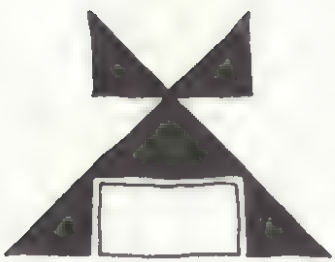
Ray Neinstein

You start from where you're at, with what you're given, and you work from there. Black Elk, age 9, was given a vision by the Grandfathers of the Oglala Sioux, in which he was taken to the center of the world (somewhere in the Black Hills) and shown the sacred hoop of his people, the circle of the nation with the flowering tree at its center, and the bad times ahead—the black road running perpendicular to the good red road—"where they meet is holy"—where they meet is where you always are, at dimensional intersections—mythical and profane, the buffalo are being methodically slaughtered so that you can't eat, so that the railroad can go through, so that there won't be any more of the people on the land. The vision keeps recurring in varying degrees of intensity all his life, he is shown the instruments by which he will help his people: the sacred pipe, the hoop, the eagle feathers, the power to heal and to destroy, the power to make live.

Black Elk was born in 1863, was present at the Rubbing Out of Long Hair (or Custer's Last Stand, depending on where you were standing at the time), was second cousin of Crazy Horse, rode in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, met Queen Victoria, wandered Europe alone for years knowing no other language than Oglala, visiting his people in spirit journeys that lasted days. The history of the Plains in its last days of freedom—the flush of victory in 1876, the short-lived excitement of the Ghost Dance (Black Elk saw Ghost Shirts in a vision and made them for his people), the end of it all at Wounded Knee, the end of the dream, the breaking of the hoop for good; Black Elk lives out his life defeated—why did the Grandfathers choose me? I could do nothing for my people—the heavy sense of purpose unfulfilled, a vision not lived out, a people unserved, and lost. The screams of bayonetted children at Wounded Knee pierce the silence of an old man's broody reverie on the South Dakota Prairie: John Niehardt, epic poet of the West (see his monumental *Cycle of the West*), comes out to talk to an old blind disappointed Indian in 1931, and is told, "Yes, you are the one I am to tell my story to, come back when the grass is so

high." The following spring, in a sacred teepee built for the occasion, the teepee Black Elk saw in his vision 60 years before, Black Elk told, for the first time, the whole story, the incredible Great Vision, the cures, the hunts, the battles. The loss of his people, the breaking of the hoop, the impossible task, the pitting of one man's vision against history.

A word on Niehardt—our last link with the Old West, a real-life Jack Crabbe, the Little Big Man, on your very own TV screen, telling Dick Cavett how it was. Now he's gone. My friend Barry Gifford said, "To think I used to cut his classes at Missouri." Read this book. Again and again. It will break your heart and open your mind.



Warriors of the Rainbow, **William Willoya and Vinson Brown, (Healdsburg, California, Naturegraph Co., C. 1962), 94 pp.**

Hal Hamilton

Warriors of the Rainbow is subtitled, "Strange and Prophetic Dreams of the Indian Peoples." These prophetic dreams are drawn from sources as diverse as the Aztec Montezuma, Krishna and Buddha, Deganawida of the Iroquois, and a living Eskimo, William Willoya. They are recorded from the inside, with an understanding that confides to the reader rather than analyses or instructs. These "strange and prophetic dreams" are not dead relics from the past; to Brown and Willoya they define the kernel of Indian existence, stretching in time from the distant past into a potential future of unity and brotherhood. Indian people do not live as we white Westerners do, confined to the eternal present and bounded by the progress of self-perpetuating institutions. The growing Indian search for traditional roots opens up the present in order to illumine the future.

The opening story of *Warriors of the Rainbow* is entitled "The Return of the Spirit" and sets the tone in which the other prophecies are told. An adolescent Indian boy confronts his great-grandmother with the question, "Why did our Grandfather in the sky allow the white men to take our lands, Oldest Mother?" And the wise old woman brightens with the thought that in the energetic longing of this boy for his lost spiritual heritage could come the answer to his own question. "Something grew inside of her, something so strong and powerful, that it roared inside of her like the wild grass fire. ...Yes, the hope was growing, it was springing within her, like hunters coming home with buffalo rumps and tongues on their saddles and the wild, wild shouting. But she dared not let the hope show in her eyes, she dared not! There would be a long time yet before she could be sure. This was only a soft little boy from the city; time would tell if his will was strong."

The boy does finally succeed in all the tests which the old woman uses to teach him the ancient ways of living; he develops both the strength and the reverence required for a symbiosis with the rocks, the trees, and the animals. The boy discovers in himself the spirit of all living things—not the answer, but the surpassing of his original question. The old

woman and he envision the future in "a great rainbow flaming in the sky where a thunderstorm had past": "The rainbow is a sign from Him who is in all things;" said the old, wise one. "It is a sign of the union of all peoples like one big family. Go to the mountaintop, child of my flesh, and learn to be a Warrior of the Rainbow, for it is only by spreading love and joy to others that hate in this world can be changed to understanding and kindness, and war and destruction shall end!"

The beautiful way in which this story and the other prophecies of the book is told makes summarizing completely inadequate. And so I will quote from just one more vision, that of Wovoka of the Paiutes in Nevada. Wovoka had lain "as if dead" for several days; when he awoke:

> *"For one solemn hour Wovoka, with tears streaming down his face, expounded the wonders of his vision. He had been to heaven. In a mystic land of great beauty, in which all the once-savage elements had been subdued and glorified, he had walked and talked with the spirits of the departed. ...And there the Indian was not the slave and the beaten dog of the white man, but stood in glorious dignity and equality with all. At the feet of these exalted beings, he had listened with reverence and with awe."*

Wovoka was sent back to his people with the Ghost Dance: "It is the dance of goodness. It comes from heaven. It has a purpose. It will make your people free, and it will make them glad."

These visions, some more compelling than others, are repeated in varying contexts in several of the prophetic dreams. In addition to the two already mentioned, are Vinson Brown's "Dream of the Sioux Pipe Bag," William Willoya's "An Eskimo in Search of God," "Prophecy of Montezuma, Aztec King," "Vision of Plenty Coups, Chief of the Crow," "Prophecy of King Deganawida, Prophet of the Iroquois," "Visions of the Blackfeet and of an Assiniboine," "Hopi Prophetic Visions," and "The Great Dream of Black Elk."

Reading this collection of dreams and prophecies is

meant to be an engulfing experience. The authors want the reader to grasp a total world-view that is religious throughout and transcends the oppressions and hatreds of the here and now as one transcends the cares of daily life in a dream. This transcendental quality of every prophecy in the book is described in the following paragraph from the Foreward:

> *[Indians of America and Indians of Asia] "have one thing in common. ..."They were both conquered and treated badly by the white people. It is remarkable that among all these Indian peoples their great prophetic dreams do not speak of how revenge will some day come for their humiliation, but how there will one day be brotherhood and love between all races. It is the bigness and grandeur of these visions that makes any forward-looking person want to help them come true, for they promise the spiritual regeneration and uplifting of all mankind."*

To the ears of the rationalist white reader this spiritual utopianism sounds strange. On the one hand, the vision of future brotherhood and love (if one can somehow forget how silly these words have become in our own culture) shatters a common Western preconception about the culture of oppressed peoples. This popular notion is of pre-industrial people blissfully ignorant of their oppression, in child-like submission to their projected father-figures, and patiently singing in the cotton fields or dancing on the reservation for tourists. If suffering is recognized, it merely deepens the primitive wisdom of toiling and religious peoples. This racist view of "third world" cultures clearly doesn't fit with the prophecies of *Warriors of the Rainbow.* Rather, we are confronted with widely diverse examples of peoples who recognize their oppression as oppression and whose cultures strive toward a radically different future. The tone is more of regeneration than of submission. The kind of world envisioned here would necessitate a complete reorientation of societal structures.

But although the future is conceptualized as radically different from present oppression, this vision of the future is presented in purely transcendental terms. It is because of this

idealist tone that one feels a certain ambivalence. The beauty of the regenerative vision is compelling, but I can't stop wondering how we get there. The prophetic dreams of this collection confine themselves to the realm of religion and of (in Western terminology) subconscious relationships with the environment. These realms seem to cut themselves off from the whole other milieu of political action in history. Maybe not: the radical Indian movement is synthesizing culture and politics in a very fruitful way. But religious visions by themselves do not shape society, and that is the source of the ambivalence I feel about *Warriors of the Rainbow.*

But in spite of this political misgiving, the intensity of the transcendental visions themselves are deeply inspiring. In all of these prophetic visions, many told long before the coming of the white conquerors, the time of oppression is foretold and seen as a test of the endurance of spiritual forces capable of eventually overcoming divisiveness, war, and exploitation through the unity of all peoples. These dreams are told in a moving and sensitive way that could scarcely avoid piercing the skepticism of the most cynical reader. The intensity of each of the religious prophecies leaves one with a much fuller understanding of the depths of the Indian movement, and with a belief that the Indian people have a tradition extremely promising for the future of mankind. The ambivalence generated about the purely religious nature of these visions themselves does not deny their power to inspire concrete activity in the here and now.

AN ANNOTATED SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

by Jefferson Davis and John Trimbur

(*indicates that the book is available in paperback.)

GENERAL WORKS

Dee Brown - *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee.*
good account of the years 1860-90, with invaluable Indian oral histories quoted extensively.

*Harold Driver - *Indians of North America.*
standard work organized by topics (e.g. kinship, food, warfare, etc.)

*Peter Farb - *Man's Rise to Civilization*
work heavily indebted to cultural ecologists and evolutionary anthropologists. Farb's use of these sources are valuable, while his own comments tend to be simple-minded.

*William T. Hagen - *American Indians*
good short introductory history.

*Helen Hunt Jackson - *Century of Dishonor*
this classic published in 1887 is a pioneering work in exposing white man's Indian policy.

*Alvin Josephy - *Patriot Chiefs*
work describes the lives and struggles of nine great Indian leaders attempting to unite their people.

A.L. Kroeber - *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America*
Fairly technical work that treats the relation of culture and environment. Includes excellent maps.

*Roy H. Pearce - *Savagism and Civilization*
Good intellectual history of white attitudes

toward Indians in the period 1609-1851.

*Carl O. Sauer - *Land and Life*
Collection of essays by America's great geographer. Valuable for Indian studies are "Road to Libola," "Personality of Mexico," "American Agricultural Origins," and "Geographic Sketch of Early Man in America."

*Edward H. Spicer - *A Short History of the Indians of the United States*
thorough for its size; sometimes slightly inaccurate. Half the book consists of documents, official and personal, white and red, concerning or imaging their encounter.

*Sun Bear - *Buffalo Hearts*
excellent work about Indian culture and great Indians of the past by a Chippewa.

Vogel - *Indian Medicine*
a veritable encyclopedia of use of herbal medicines. Excellent.

*Clark Wessler - *Indians of the United States*
fairly good information despite consistent racist bias, read with care.

BY CULTURAL AREAS:

Eastern Woodlands

*Alden T. Vaughan - *The New England Frontier*
Vaughan is at pains to justify the Puritans' initiation of the genocide of red people; e.g. he annoys by trying to equate Puritan and "Indian" land-holding practices. He sometimes seems not to know much more about the "New England" tribes than Cotton Mather did. Still the book has most of the facts, and is so transparently biased that it's not too difficult to separate wheat from chaff; it has one great virtue—it is easily

obtainable.

Wallace Chafe - *Seneca Thanksgiving Rituals*
A careful translation of the prayer with which the Seneca begin each meeting in the longhouse—an epitome of Seneca cosmology and religion.

A.F.C. Wallace - *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*
The story of Handsome Lake, Seneca prophet, who "revitalized" Long House religion at the end of the eighteenth century. Wallace's account of Handsome Lake's world and work is thorough and, a rare treat, largely accurate.

Arthur C. Parker - *Parker on the Iroquois*, ed. by Fenton.
A wonderful essay on corn and its significance in Iroquois life, the Great Law, and the Code of Handsome Lake. Indispensable, unless you're Iroquois, as Parker was.

*Grant Foreman - *The Five Civilized Tribes*
The history of the southeastern Creek, Cherokee, Seminole, Chickasaw and Choctaw tribes - how they wound up in Oklahoma with the help of Andrew Jackson and the U.S. Army.

*Donald Jackson, ed. - *Black Hawk's Autobiography*
The story of the Sauk-Fox leader for whom the white's named one of their early wars. Energetic, eloquent, sometimes insightful. A good edition.

GREAT PLAINS:

*Ralph Andrist - *The Long Death*
Excellent history of the Plains Indians' final wars 1860-90.

*Merrill Beal - *"I Will Fight No More Forever"*
title from Chief Joseph's speech of surrender, this work treats the Nez Perce war and flight of 1877.

*Robert Lowie - *Indians of the Plains*
basic ethnography of Plains tribes.

*James Mooney - *Ghost Dance Religion*
classic work includes Ghost Dance songs and congressional investigation of Wounded Knee Massacre.

*John Neihardt - *Black Elk Speaks*
autobiography of Sioux holy man excellent work, includes Sioux history and Black Elk's vision (See review in this issue).

*Mari Sandoz - *Cheyenne Autumn*
story of the Cheyennes' attempt to return home from reservation in Oklahoma in 1878.

*Mari Sandoz - *Crazy Horse*
excellent biography of Crazy Horse full of insights into Sioux life and history.

CALIFORNIA AND GREAT BASIN:

Paul Bailey - *Wovoka: Indian Messiah*
story of the Painte prophet who started the Ghost Dance of 1890.

*Vinson Brown - *Pomos and their Neighbors*
good short introduction to Pomo history, material culture, and religion.

*Jack Forbes - *Native Americans of California and Nevada*
good history emphasizing contemporary problems and the teaching of Indian studies.

A.L. Kroeber - *Handbook of the Indians of California*
standard work, massive and technical with great detail.

*Theodora Kroeber - *Almost Ancestors*
fine Sierra Club book with brief descriptions and great photographs.

*Theodora Kroeber - *Ishi in Two Worlds*
excellent work describing life of the sole survivor of the Yana Tribe.

Theodora Kroeber - *Ishi, Last of His Tribe*
same story told from Ishi's point of view. Written for younger readers, but great for everyone.

Julian Steward - *Great Basin Aboriginal Socio-Polical Groups*
technical work but great detail about gathering and hunting.

NORTHWEST COAST, ALASKA, THE ARCTIC:

*Tom McFeat, ed. - *Indians of the North Pacific Coast*
An anthology that includes classic ethnographies, like Boas', and later writers on these fishing people's adjustments to white conquest. Good.

Franz Boas - *Kwakiutl Ethnography*
Franz Boas' last attempt at entering, defining, the Kwakiutl analysis of experience. Some of Boas' finest, most exact writing. Excellent.

Franz Boas - *Ethnography of Franz Boas*
Ethnography in a different sense. Boas' letters and diaries from his expeditions to the Northwest Coast. Not much information about the coast peoples. A glimpse at the processes of Boas' fieldwork and the slight changes in the nature of his engagement to the peoples he studied. The early letters especially are tense, imperialist, hurried; the later letters more meditative, much concerned with his own world. Good if you are interested in the history of ethnography.

Helen Codere - *Fighting with Property*
An historical study which centers on the

development of the potlack by the Kwakiutl as the white colonization of their area skewed their own path of development. Sometimes madly formal, graceless, but good.

Audrey Hawthorn - *Art of the Kwakiutl Indians*
many color photographs of incredible Kwakiutl wood carving, from masks to more esoteric pieces of Shaman's equipment, such as spirit catchers. Mrs. Hawthorn does not neglect to describe what role all the things performed in Kwakiutl life.

James P. Spradley, ed. - *Guests Never Leave Hungry*
The autobiography of a Kwakiutl man, James Sewid, who somehow lives in the two worlds of his own people and of the white Canadians.

*Franz Boas - *The Central Eskimo*
Classic book about non-Indian Eskimo people, their lives on the ice, much earlier than *Kwakiutl Ethnography*.

Richard K. Nelson - *Hunters of the Northern Ice*
A fine ecological study of contemporary coastal Eskimo people. Nelson has a good sense of the historical development of the Eskimo people as their society has been, is being, hit by the technology of the whites.

THE SOUTHWEST:

*Frank Waters - *Book of the Hopi.*
Not a formal ethnographer, Waters lets the Hopi tell most of their stories themselves. He is concerned with the quality, the "meaning", of Hopi life, and is especially interesting when describing the historical recapitulation enacted in Hopi ceremonies. Sometimes flat, but still special.

*Charles H. Lange - *Cochiti*

This is another maddeningly thorough ethnography: All the facts about other Puebloes, the Keresan people of Cochiti. And the facts do reveal something of the imagination of the people. Incidentally, Cochiti is now being condemned with collusion by the BIA to build a luxury retirement village, complete with lake in the desert. Something should be done to stop the destruction of the place and the people.

*Leo W. Simmons - *Sun Chief.*

The autobiography of a Hopi Indian. Don C. Talayesva tells about his life as citizen in his two societies—detailed, rich in spirit and humor. Simmons is sometimes annoying, in the manner of Carlos Castaneda in *Don Juan.*

*Benjamin Lee Whorf - *Language, Thought, and Reality*

In several good essays, Whorf uses the Hopi language as lens to see the Hopi cosmos. Often fascinating.

*Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton - *The Navaho.*

This is still a good quick introduction to the largest Indian tribe—"The People"—who surround the Hopi, with whom they traditionally have an unfriendly relationship.

S.M. Barrett - *Geronimo, His Own Story,*

newly edited by Fredrick W. Turner, III. A story of great energy, great feeling. With *Black Elk* and a few others, one of the most amazing native American autobiographies.

MEXICO, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA:

*Eric Wolf - *Sons of the Shaking Earth.*

A good brief history of the native peoples of Mexico, one of the few foci of actual empire in the "New World."

Bernal Diaz del Castillo - *The Discovery and Conquest of*

Mexico.
Diaz saw it all.

Julian Steward - *Handbook of South American Indians.*
Prepared for the Smithsonian by one of the founders of the study of culture and ecology. Huge, and usually rich.

Garcilaso de la Vega, El Inca - *The Royal Commentaries of the Incas.*
Garcilaso was Inca, trained by the priests in Spanish. A huge, wonderful book he wrote about the whole world the Spanish destroyed.

CONTEMPORARY ENCOUNTERS:

*Vine Deloria - *Custer Died for Your Sins and We Talk, You Listen.*
Vine Deloria has been an important spokesman in the revitalization of native American ethnic consciousness. These are his two books, statements of the problems as he sees them, and his solutions, usually appropriately drastic and simple. He doesn't have a class analysis, some call him "Utopian;" he may be, but I too would like to see buffalo wild on the Great Plains, again. The first book is a valuable history and critique of white racism, the old "White Problem."

*American Friends Service Committee - *Uncommon Controversy.*
A thorough examination of the roots of the current brutal effort by the people and State of Washington to deny the Nisqually, Muckleshoot, and Puyallup peoples their treaty-guaranteed fishing rights. A helpful book about an important struggle.

*Stan Steiner - *The New Indians*
A journalistic report on native American activists around the country. A good glimpse at

the peoples' growing militancy and capacity for effective action.

*Peter Matthiessen - *Wildlife in America.*

A great introduction to the wild aboriginal species that shared the "Indians'" world—including those now killed into complete extinction, and those endangered by the same fate. Another part of the problem.

*Sun Bear - *At Home in the Wilderness.*

Sun Bear has real vision and is a strong teacher. He brings the medicine: the Earth as Mother, to those who have forgotten or never known that love, that regard. This one is good, and Sun Bear has others besides, all published by Naturegraph in Healdsburg, California.

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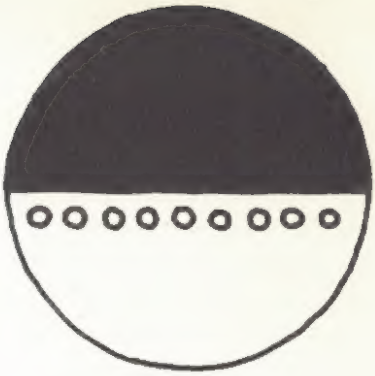
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